

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXXIV.

1882.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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ART. I.—THE INDIAN SERVICES.

LUGETE *Veneres, Cupidinesque.* Let all things gay and graceful mourn the untimely loss of ALI BABA! Had he lived long enough, the subject of the present paper might have found a fitter draughtsman: one who could tell truth laughing, and utter useful commonplaces in his own original and striking manner:—*Difficile est propriè communia dicere!* Possibly his picture would not have been all light and sweetness. Readers of his *Twenty-one Days* will recollect such passages as the following:—

“Reams of hiccoughing platitudes lodged in the pigeon-holes of the Home Office by all the gentlemen clerks and gentlemen farmers of the world cannot mend this; while the Indian villager has to maintain the glorious phantasmagoria of an imperial policy; while he has to support legions of scarlet soldiers, golden chuprasies, purple politicals, and green commissions; he must remain the hunger-stricken, over-driven phantom that he is.”

Yet after all due allowance had been made for whimsical exaggeration and pleasant pantagruelism; after the poetical Viceroy, the unloaded Commander-in-Chief, the “long shore Governors,” the bi-mundane Archdeacon and the rest, had been discounted, there would doubtless have been left a residuum of real merit and of good honest labour that would have resisted ridicule and survived in the crucible of satire. It is impossible to believe that so acute an observer, so manly a thinker as Mr. Aberigh-Mackay could have intended to play the part of Smelfungus, who went from Dan to Beersheba and found all barren. He must have

meant to acknowledge that great wars had been sometimes waged, great public works somewhere constructed, in British India; that the peace had been kept, and life and property protected, to a degree not usual in Eastern countries. In one of his papers he went so far as to represent a District Judge as a man who went about philandering in gray kid gloves, and only looked into his court in his *momens perdus*, to bandy repartees with the Bar. Yet he must have known that above the District Judge there was a High Court to which he had to submit quarterly statements of the business before him, and of the number of days which he devoted to it.

But Ali Baba is gone; and it will be many a long year before the Indian services again meet with a pen so fit to describe their merits and their drawbacks. A foreign traveller once said of the rulers of Anglo-India that they were just, but not amiable; in which sentence (whether intentionally or not) he sounded a high note of praise. It was Dr. Johnson's mature experience of his countrymen that they were less just than he had supposed when young, but more generous. If the foreign Administrator of India really reverses this finding, it must be because, while intercourse with undeveloped tribes and races leads to some austerity of feeling or of manner, yet the sense of great responsibilities stimulates to a corresponding earnestness in the discharge of duty. Over all, and apart from this, it is a historical fact that the services have at all times hitherto comprised among their ranks a select few of whose soaring aims and specific genius they have made such a standard as has tended to keep their tone and their traditions upon a lofty level.

Such men have not always found glory—which indeed is not an English ideal—the salt of the earth sometimes eludes all analysis. As a great modern writer * has said:—

“The growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and, that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.”

Even of those who have achieved, how many are as good as forgot already? Beyond a small circle of specialists, who knows the name of Augustus Cleveland, the tamer of the Bengal hill savages, of Shore the pioneer of Dehra Doon, of the founders of the Trigonometric Survey, the framers of the Penal Code, or the Engineer of the Grand Trunk Road?

And not only are these men unremembered in many instances, but the very nature of their work may be called in question.

* George Eliot.

That inverted patriotism which is, in respect of national matters, what morbid self-examination is to individuals, finds it an easy undertaking to hit blots in Britannia's blazoned scutcheon. The morality of Indian conquest has not escaped these critics; and in some instances—such as the conduct of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh—the end has been held to fail in justifying the means adopted. It may be said that a distant nation ought never to “turn the eagle against heaven's course,”* and go back to the old Eastern cradle to domineer over the decline of its parent race. The natives of India are unfriendly, possibly irreconcilably so, to the nation of upstart aliens who spend their hard earned half-pence in teaching them lessons that they have no wish to learn. They would suck their eggs cheaper and more easily without the encumbrance of British aid.

These are, for the most part, matters of opinion. But the men, with their qualities, to whom Britain is indebted for this grave responsibility, this perilous possession, this, perhaps, questionable authority, remain what they were under every aspect. It was not theirs to resolve nice points of political casuistry, but only to execute appointed tasks; and that they did as it has seldom been done elsewhere. They were faithful in a few things; subordinates who did as they were bid: none better. And they were no lucky accidents, or creatures of momentary impulse. Such as we see them in action such they made themselves in obscure, if not silent, preparation. They differ from ourselves chiefly in this; that they redeemed the time which we waste in idleness, in frivolity or in misconduct. They observed incessantly; they thought boldly; they aspired patiently; they laboured without rest, and without haste, bending themselves to the varying task from day to day.

It has no doubt often occurred to sympathetic thinkers that there must have been a common principle at the bottom of success in Indian public life: but, if there was, it is one that is not easily perceived. In one man we see valour and energy combined with loose principles, deficient moral courage, and hatred of letters; in his greatest contemporary we see a low standard of political morality, and an iron will, joined to pure personal conduct, warm domestic affection, and a frivolous habit of trifling with the old maide of Pindus. The varieties presented by Clive and Hastings continue to be visible in the careers of their successors. Metcalfe was a man of the world, Elphinstone a man of the closet; Munro looked on life through office-windows, Malcolm from the back of a horse. It was at one time the fashion to attribute the success of such men to the action upon their minds

* *Dante Paradise VI., l.*

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* Dante *Paradiso* VI., 1.

of religious feelings, or at least of early religious training. And, if by "religion" we were to understand that mysterious sense of obligation to a supernatural creditor which has for so long been the common tendency of high-wrought souls, there might be truth in that view of the matter. But Clapham—?

Yet there will be found cases enough of persons who have soared without being inflated by any wind of doctrine, whether blowing from Clapham or elsewhere; and who yet rose and sailed along the same shining path of virtue. The common principle, if any, was adaptability to these formative influences which no longer operate in India with the same strength. In most cases there were long years of obscurity, and difficulty, and constant personal peril; study of men, if not of books; much of weary waiting with neglect—it might be injustice—to bear; the insolence of office and the wrongs that patient merit takes of the unworthy; and in all there must have been self-preparation, self-reliance, and self-mastery; with a sense that the heart, though an earthen vessel, contained treasure, to be put to use and not buried idly in the ground.

Perhaps the most famous Indians of the Victorian age have been Thomason, the Lawrences, Durand, Hodson, Nicholson, Outram, R. Napier, Donald McLeod, and Bartle Frere. Many other names will at once occur, and swell the apparent discord. Such men seem to have no points of agreement; for one is English or Scottish, another a Celt from Ireland or the Highlands; some are, in a small way, aristocrats, others sprung from the lower middle class; some notorious dunces, others refined scholars; some sons of the Anglican Church, and some of Ulster Puritans; while more than one had no special interest in religious questions at all. Nor was it any indiscriminate courtesy and benevolence: they were not even agreed in their methods of treating Asiatics, or in their views of the Asiatic character. Sir Henry Lawrence was pro-native in theory, though sometimes impatient, even to violence, in practice; and his pupil, Hodson, held natives of the country cheap indeed. Sir Bartle's philanthropy and courtesy are known to all. Nicholson often showed symptoms of contempt for the whole human race, "without distinction of creed or color"; John Lawrence, to the last, hectored and lectured Nawabs and Rajas as if he were still a Joint Magistrate among fat yeomen.

If we are still told that a common result must show a common cause, we may surely recognise the earnestness with which such men fed the growth of their souls. Voltaire says, that character is more than talent; and it will be found to be the root not necessarily of prosperity—for the coward and the knave will

sometimes prosper where a hero might fail—but of all that is best in human conduct. It was the association of trying environments with a tough yet active organism that produced these great men. It may be asked, why speak of the Indian services in this historical tone, as things of the past? The answer is that they have really ceased to exist: with the great revolution of 1857 the old system virtually came to an end; and what exists now is but a feeble shoot from the stumps of the fallen trees that once seemed so strong and useful. And, indeed, in times of peace and routine the well-born noodle, or the mechanical drudge—especially if not troubled with conscience and aspiration—will do the work as well as a better man. But the circumstances of “the Company’s” India used to present conditions of a very different character, such as sometimes to make the children of the established fact cower and lose their heads with a well-founded sense of impotence, as of foolish virgins who had provided no oil for their lamps. It is this which distinguishes the present from the past. It may be that all danger and difficulty have not yet been removed from the path of the future, and that the British Empire in India has rude trials still to come. But for many years these things have been comparatively dormant. And the peace and good government that have followed on the labours of her earlier heroes have much facilitated the task of their successors.

It is therefore just now a matter of mainly historical interest to inquire into the formation and influence of those who are marked out as men to whom their countrymen trusted in time of trouble, alike for the interests of Empire and the welfare of individuals; the maintenance of great principles as certainly as the decision of a county court suit. Much stationery has been wasted by philosophers over what has been called the “greatman theory”: that is to say, on the discussion whether your great man is like Addison’s angel who

“Rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm,

or whether he is a mere secretion of society in certain conditions. The inquiry is not material to us. Indian society could not have developed such men without the help of favouring causes in Britain; but it is equally true, that, if the men had remained in Britain, they could have never risen much beyond the level of British life, being simply shrewder lawyers, more sagacious apothecaries, more pushing tradesmen, or, perhaps, more audacious scamps, than their ordinary contemporaries. It needed influences from two Continents to make them what they were. On the other hand, once made, they greatly affected their environments. It is no exaggeration to say that the Punjab, for

instance, could not have been exactly what it is without the Lawrence brothers; it would have had neither its gentry nor its commonalty in the same condition, neither its land-revenue settlements nor its municipal organisation, its criminal administration or its civil code. It has been already pointed out that the heroes of British India are not to be looked upon as mere monstrous births of Nature, cast forth by chance in some volcanic hour. Not less misleading would it be to suppose that their preparation was made systematically and ceased at any particular period of their lives. Every soul of man, as we are told by Empedocles on *Ætna*, "strikes root into a far off time," and brings into the world ancestral experiences woven into the tissues of his being. Yet Pope has rightly warned us of the occasional failure of all the blood of all the Howards; and some at least of our great men gave but little promise either from what was known of their pedigree or what was shown by their own boyhood. Clive, we learn, was a rebellious dunce; the scion of an unsuccessful family; Hastings was, besides, a presumptuous dreamer. The Lawrences—sons of a half pay Captain sprung from a race of Ulster Yeomen—were undistinguished as young men, whatever be the myths of gushing biographers wise after the event. Nicholson in later life regretted that he had "not made use of the opportunities, &c." Hodson went to Cambridge, but failed to graduate in honours—which as a sixth form, Arnoldite Rugbeian, he ought to have done—Outram was a Scottish *rôturier* who received only the average training of his class. It may be doubted whether any of them would have passed one of our modern competitive examinations. But they were all active, manly boys, leaders—so far as can be learned—of their companions, a little despised, probably, both by the bookworms and the butterflies; exciting, certainly, no great jealousy in any quarter. Let us proceed, after these tiresome but needful preliminaries, to see what were some of the circumstances which called forth the latent powers of some of these extraordinary men.

Henry Lawrence, for example, in the fourth year of his service, was ordered to sea for change of air. Instead of going where other people went, he chose Canton for his *villegiatura*; and a friend who met him there found that his recreation consisted in spending his time at the Public Library, studying the business of a Surveyor. Sent on to Europe, he joined the Irish Survey, and there acquired the skill and knowledge which enabled him, on return to India, to start on a path of his own. Posted to the revenue survey of the Gorakpur District he soon distinguished himself. Seven years of solitary work in that then wild country

turned him out fit for almost any duty. Nothing like his despatch: Thomason called him "Gunpowder." His energy arose from zeal combined with knowledge: "his great strength lay in ubiquity:" he "gave himself little rest, even at night:" he was willing to undertake "any kind of work; and little cared whether it fell within the range of his own recognised duties, so long as he could be of service to the State."

Yet all this efficient and loyal labour had to languish in the shade sometimes. Transferred to the political branch during the first Afghan war, he found himself neglected when the war was over. "Like many others," so he wrote in 1842, "I am disappointed at the distribution of honours" (an old story, this!); "in fact, it would seem to have been supposed that I was a kind of Assistant in the Commissariat." In charge of two Punjab Districts, my pay is "less than if I were with the regiment." Fortunately, not only for himself but for India, these clouds were transitory. Promoted to the pleasant sinecure of Khatmandu, he turned to literature, a new field of labour which, to his somewhat untrained faculties, must have been at first trying, though it ultimately turned out fertile. The pages of the *Calcutta Review*, then in its infancy, benefited; but the contributions, as we may see for ourselves in the reprint now appearing, were better in matter than in manner. Yet here again appear his flexible strenuousness and unwearied attention. His articles, we are told by the then Editor,* were valued for their substance rather than for the skill displayed in its exposition. So "he tried to improve his style"; and wrote that, with this object, he had been reading Macaulay's Essays and *Studying Lindley Murray*. The Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, noticed the writings thus produced; and, being a man of the world, superior to the ordinary prejudices of officials, resolved to make further use of the author.

In the beginning of 1846 the Sikh resistance was for the time crushed, the Punjab was reduced to the condition of a protected State, and Lawrence was called to the scene of his former labours in that Province. But his health again broke down. In 1847 he revisited Europe on furlough, and astonished the loungers of Regent Street by his mediæval bearing and unstudied costume. The recrudescence of the Sikh animosity, under Mulráj and Sher Singh, soon roused him; and, under advice from the Duke of Wellington, he sought permission to return to the scene of his political duties. He received an answer from the Court of Directors, "politely ignoring me and leaving me to act on my own judgment as I was on medical certificate. I was disappointed,

* The late Sir John Kaye.

but perceived no hostility in the Court's act," So wrote the unworldly soldier, and surely it is almost superfluous to say that no "hostility" can be perceived in Routine's impartial calm.

He soon got back to the Punjab, where he was welcome, his presence being most beneficial upon the gloomy field of Chilianwála and Lord Gough, after the bloody day, proposed to retire four miles for the sake of supplies. "Not a mile," said Lawrence, who was with him as political adviser, "if you do, the Sikhs will claim the day." The advice was taken, and British prestige was saved a serious blow.

After the annexation of the Punjab a triumvirate was set up by the Government, under the name of "Board of Administrators;" and of that Board Lawrence was Chief. How it split up, and what were his feelings on the subject, could not be detailed without stirring embers not yet cold. Sir Henry—as he now was—seemed to pass under a stronger shadow than usual, but he soon blazed out again with added lustre. The present writer met him at Rurki, on the opening of the Ganges Canal in 1854, when he seemed resting in the comparative ease of the Rajputána Agency, and chiefly occupied with his schemes—since so fruitful—for the physical and moral care of soldiers' orphans. We next beheld him in his brief bright ending, the prescient antagonist of rebellion that he had done nothing to provoke, breathing spirit into the defence of Lucknow, while watching over its minutest details, dying in its darkest hour, defeated but not despondent, with the patent of provisional Viceroy under the pillow of his death-bed.

Such was the career of a man without brilliant intellect, high training, or aristocratic connexions; and it is a singular fact, indeed, that a still more distinguished career fell to the lot of his younger brother. There is a story that Sir Henry; at the close of his life, had been heard to say, "My brother, John, is a hard man." In any case, the contrast between the two brothers was as complete as that between the sternest Roundhead and the most chivalrous Cavalier; while the elder, with occasional flamings of temper and some disregard of the minor proprieties, was thoroughly courteous, pitiful, and knightly, the younger was reserved, rough, and rather practical than popular. To use the words of an ardent admirer, "he forgot men's names and faces, shook hands with the wrong man, and gave a distant bow to him to whom he ought to have been cordial. He did not mix with the crowd at his parties, and generally spent the evening in talking with any one who had the assurance to address him." It is not enough to plead that he was "a Haileybury man." So were Sir Bartle Frere, and many another self-possessed and urbane gentleman. To Valets-de-chambre

John Lawrence was not acceptable. Yet it may be safely asserted that, since Warren Hastings, Indian work has never developed a better administrator, or one who set himself to his tasks with a clearer head or a stronger will. Were administration one of the fine arts, to be learned in ladies' bowers and practised for amusement, it might be right to maintain the picturesque at the expense of the practical, to look rather to the smoothness of the present than to the stability of the future, to rule by love rather than by fear. But if men are still weak, and often wicked, and if rulers have to form, educate and establish, then a more repressive method is unavoidable; and, in place of practising an art, we must studiously pursue a science. It is the ignoring of this distinction, perhaps, that has caused the Irish difficulty of our days; and the two great brethren of whom we are now taking note are certainly a startling illustration of its reality. You cannot rule a conquered country in the spirit of *le Roi d'Yvetot*.

John Lawrence began his independent career early, being placed for a time in sole charge of the Pánipat District, while yet nominally Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Dehli. Returning to head-quarters after two years of this trying experience, he never swam in corks again. He was given the charge of a subdivision and of the turbulent metropolis of the Mughals, and did special good service there in administering relief operations during the terrible famine of 1837-38.

After some changes (including a three years' furlough to Europe) he found himself in sole command of the Dehli district and its resources on the outbreak of the first Punjab war. In the early part of 1846 the army had exhausted its ammunition, in the bloody and almost indecisive battles of Mudki and Firozshahr; and the magazine at Dehli was its nearest source of supply. The problem was to get the Ordnance stores from Dehli to Firozpur, a distance of some 250 miles, with the least possible delay. The Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, who had made the Collector's acquaintance on the way up in November, placed the whole carriage-question in Lawrence's hands. Without fresh cartridges the army could not stop the Sikhs, but the Ordnance Department had no carts, and did not know how to get them. Such was Lawrence's first great opportunity, and he was not the man to neglect it. "By personal influence," we are told, "by judicious treatment, by good and certain payment," in short, he did more than any one man to win the battle of Sobraon, and beat down the crapulous crew of prostitutes and prætorians who held a precarious but bloody sway in the Punjab.

A mixed system of administration succeeded in which Lawrence bore part, first as Commissioner of the Jalandar Doáb, and

presently as Member of the ill-fated Board already mentioned. Revenue-science got the better of romantic philanthropy ; the "hard man" rose to the hard work ; and the two brothers parted, each to leave his mark on the Province. If Sir Henry bequeathed his legacy in the shape of loyalty among the native chiefs and the loving memory of his English disciples, it must not be forgotten that his brother's Dictatorship of five years fostered those material resources which enabled him in 1857 to precipitate the fall of Dehli from Lahore, as he had formerly precipitated the fall of Lahore from Dehli ; and so to hasten the collapse of the most alarming attack that has hitherto menaced the power of Britain in the far East. So that, in estimating the brothers, it must never be forgotten that if John's system left the greater monument of practical statesmanship, it was Henry who formed the best of the instruments by the aid of which it was constructed. The Chief Commissioner has been likened to Cromwell ; and in no respect did he more resemble that solitary Hercules than in a stern self-trust that attracts no attachment and forms no school. The minds of men are more impressed by the influence of a large and loving nature than by the most provident and energetic qualities of mind. The great and blameless acquisition of the Empire on the North-West limit was, indeed, completed by the head of one brother co-operating with the other's heart.

Foremost among the followers of Henry Lawrence was John Nicholson, a man whose splendid heroism outstrips the most ardent panegyric, and who, perhaps for that very reason, was ill-suited to win the favor of a strong-willed chief. In March 1857 Nicholson was Deputy Commissioner of a frontier district. His Commissioner—Sir H. Edwardes, then on leave of absence in Calcutta—received a letter from him, in that month, in which were contained the following sentences :—

"I wish to leave the Punjab...it is better for me to leave the Punjab while I can do so quietly...I am not ambitious, and shall be glad to take any equivalent for a first class Deputy Commissionership. I should like to go to Oudh, if Sir Henry would like to have me. It would be a pleasure to try and assist him ; but if he would rather not bring in Punjabees, do not press it upon him. What I should like best of all would be, if we could get away together." From these last words it would seem as if Edwardes was no less dissatisfied than his subaltern.

Exactly six months after expressing these discontents, Nicholson fell in the storm of Dehli, a General leading his troops ; and his epitaph was written by the very chief whom he had been wishing to "leave quietly" before that chief crushed him. Such misunderstandings may occur between subordinate and superior, even when both are brave and capable beyond ordinary measure.

Nicholson came to India, as a "cadet" very early in life, having had but little of what is called "education." He served in a Regiment of Native Infantry during the Cabul campaign of 1841, and was taken prisoner by the Afghans. At the end of the war he returned to his corps—then stationed at Meerut—and soon after obtained the Adjutancy. In the beginning of 1846 he was transferred to the Commissariat, so that he and John Lawrence were employed at one and the same time in not very dissimilar duties. He was next sent to Cashmere to instruct the Raja's troops, and the selection was made by Henry Lawrence. But the Raja did not really wish to have his troops instructed; and Nicholson, finding that his duties were "merely nominal," threw them up at the end of six months. He was next sent to Lahore, during the provisional arrangements of 1847, and here began his civil career as Assistant to the British "Resident." When Agnew and Anderson were killed at Multan, Nicholson had got to Peshawur, where for the first time, he found a suitable field for his "almost invincible" spirit. To say that he was a good man for the ordinary routine of an Indian "Kucherry" would be ridiculous; he was irregular even to lawlessness, neglecting "Regulations" and "Circular Orders"—those divine ordinances and laws—and throwing reprimands into a waste-paper basket at his feet. But he had a boldness and originality which it was the fashion of those days to call a "noble reliance on the God of his fathers," and which, in modern parlance, would perhaps be called a reliance on "the Daemon in his own breast." It comes to the same in the end.

After doing all that he could for his own district, he joined the intelligence department of Gough's army, and was present on the fields of Chilianwala and Gujrat. He did not approve indiscriminately of all that the army did. During the latter part of this campaign the British soldiery brought discredit on their race and on the Government by a good deal of plundering. Earnestly did Nicholson pray for the powers of a Provost-marshal, that he might cure this distemper by the remedy of hemp.

On his return to civil duty Nicholson received a letter of advice from Sir Henry, and it is interesting to see how the fiery subaltern received the advice of the fiery chief; for it is only great natures who can thus impart and receive experiences. "Let me advise you," wrote Lawrence, "to curb your temper, and bear and forbear with Natives and Europeans. Don't think it necessary to say all you think to every one. The world would be one mass of tumult if we all gave candid opinions of one another." Nicholson replied, saying, "I am not ignorant of the faults of my temper, and I do endeavour to overcome them. My temper is a very excitable one, and wants a good deal of curbing. A

knowledge of the disease is said to be half the cure, and I trust the remaining half will not be long before it is effected."

Soon after this singularly characteristic correspondence, Nicholson went on furlough; but he did not spend the time in mere amusement or recreation. After travelling a while in Egypt and Austria, and failing in a quixotic attempt to deliver Kossuth from confinement, he went on to St. Petersburg, and saw there, and subsequently at other Continental capitals, reviews of large bodies of troops. Returning to India in 1851, he brought with him a specimen of the Prussian needle-gun, a weapon now improved upon, but far ahead, at that period, of the fire-arms of other nations. For the next five years the round man fills, as best he can, the square hole of District duty. He was in much hot water. His superiors disapproved, naturally enough, of his irregular and summary methods. A fanatic attempted his life, but Nicholson took the law into his own hands. The following is the text of the report made on the occasion:—

"Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that I have just shot a man who came to kill me.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN NICHOLSON."

But the wild hill-men worshipped him, for the most part, associating such rapid readiness with a sense of religious awe. There was a sect of *faqirs* calling themselves after his name. One of their traditions is or was that, after having cut off a man's head, "Nikal Sen" found that he had made a mistake, and put the head on again; on which the man made a bow and walked home highly satisfied and honoured.

At the moment when the tension between the Chief Commissioner and Nicholson was becoming too strained to endure, all fear of a rupture was quieted by that otherwise disquieting event, the Sepoy Mutiny. When Neville Chamberlain became Adjutant-General the command of the "movable column" in the Punjab seemed to devolve on Nicholson almost as a matter of course, and by universal acclamation. The result was rapid and brilliant. Victorious in the well planned action of Trimmu Ghát, he soon put down all immediate disturbance in the Punjab. In August he went to the siege of Delhi, taking with him John Lawrence's last reserve. "He was a man," they found there, "cast in a giant mould with massive chest and powerful limbs, an expression ardent and commanding, with a dash of roughness;—a long black beard and a sonorous voice. There was something of

immense strength, talent, and resolution in his whole gait and manner. An imperial air that might have been thought arrogance in one of less imposing mien sometimes gave offence to his more unbending countrymen, but made him almost worshipped by the pliant Asiatics." (Kaye.)

The portrait in the Dehli Institute, painted (apparently) by a native artist from a photograph, gives a softer air to the head than would be expected from this description. But the look of talent and of resolution is there, and so is the long black beard which was so characteristic of the man at a time when almost every one else shaved clean upon the chin. The rest of the story is known to most of reading mankind. After leading his men through the breach—a mixed band from the 75th Foot, the 1st Bengal Fusileers and the 2nd Punjabees—he reformed them near the Main Guard. Turning up a narrow lane behind the walls, he marched through all resistance till the Cabul Gate was reached and captured. An advance was next made in the direction of the Burn-bastion. Here—as in other scenes where mixed detachments have been employed—indecision was shown by the men before a breast-work, and the fire of one well-served gun upon the ramparts that ran parallel to the line of advance. In waving and calling on his men, Nicholson became a mark to countless enfilading muskets from the neighbouring windows and was soon shot down. Taken back to camp, he lingered for several days, sending from his pallet bold words of counsel and courage to the leaders of the army. All that is left of him on earth now is the monument in the small cemetery outside the walls, a tablet showing where he fell, and a record by the Punjab Government that, without him, Dehli might not have been taken.

Another officer equally distinguished for his gallantry in the field, and more suited to succeed in civil office, was the late Sir James Outram. A copious Memoir has been recently produced by Sir F. Goldsmid, the earlier part of which has been the subject of a notice by Mr. Boulger in these pages.* That leaves but little to be said here. Over Outram's grave in Westminster Abbey are cut the words "The Bayard of India," first applied to him by his famous foe, Sir Charles Napier, in an after dinner speech. Few comparisons can be more infelicitous than that between the Indian soldier-statesman and the French *hobereau* of the time of Francis I. The "Chevalier Bayard" was an aristocratic swashbuckler (named Pierre du Terrail) who pervaded the early part of the sixteenth century, fighting hand-to-hand with Spanish and Italian knights, entirely disconnected

* V. C. R. for April 1881., p. 239.

with politics or civil employ, and never rising higher than the command of a hundred horsemen. Outram was a Scottish plebeian, who rose chiefly in political duty, and who—when it came to fighting—seldom wielded any more formidable weapon than a thick stick or a lighted cheroot; a leader, on occasion, of large bodies of men, but much given to writing minutes and pamphlets. He was like the mediæval Frenchman in being brave, in which respect he might also be likened to Cæsar Borgia, Richard III., and many another; but he was bent by application to desk-work, not much acquainted with high society, very domestic in his habits, the husband of one wife.

Like many other original and earnest men he had scant indulgence from "the official mind." As his biographer gently puts it:—"Outram eventually triumphed, and his triumph completes the moral lesson of his life in its fitness for the study of rising generations. But a less strong man than he might have sunk under like circumstances. Should this be?" Most independent readers will reply in the negative. The survival of the fittest is a stern reality; but it is just one of those respects in which man has not hitherto thought it meritorious to imitate Nature. Moreover, what may be fittest for ordinary times is not the fittest for times of trial. Had the Napiers and the Ellenboroughs succeeded in driving Outram out of the service—even out of political employ—the whole subsequent course of Anglo-Indian history must have been deeply and injuriously affected.

There were, however, two somewhat inconsistent tendencies in Outram, which must have given some advantage to the Philistines. One was the tendency to justify himself at excessive length whenever he was reproved by authority: the other, was a disregard of his own interests most surprising in one otherwise remarkable for sense and shrewdness. He did the creatures of the hour too much honor by arguing with them; forgetting that they were only acting after their kind, and that their censure was hastening to the same limbo that awaited themselves. But it was his nature to be strenuous in all things. Much of his very courage must have come from an unselfishness which seems hard to reconcile with an excess of sensitiveness to blame; and yet they did co-exist in him, as they have in many another man. Whatever his hand found to do was done with all his might; and no form of resistance or repression acted upon him otherwise than as a powerful stimulant. Such a character is, indeed, worthy of all admiration and cannot be too constantly held up as a pattern to a sordid, hypocritical age like our own. When, on entering the Oudh territories with the relieving column in August 1857, he waived his army rank and put himself under

Havelock as a simple volunteer, Outram did more than pay a graceful courtesy to a deserving comrade ; for he sacrificed all immediate prospect of hereditary title and a pension—things that he might well have valued, for his family if not for himself. Yet all that he could find to say about the matter afterwards, in the face of a public roused to a noble recognition of his noble conduct was this :—" People have made too much of it. I had the chance of attaining the highest object of my ambition, the Victoria Cross," of which highest object be it added, he was after all, deprived by official pedantry, though no man in the army had a better right to the decoration. Such was Outram, not perhaps much like Peter du Terrail, otherwise Chevalier Bayard ; but a good, honest, intrepid Saxon of the Wellington type, whom his country will long remember, with love and honor, among the first of the heroes of her Indian services.

Such men have been produced in comparatively large numbers by the creative environments of the situation. These, indeed, are not uniformly beneficial. The opinion of Herr v. Moltke as to the effect of Algerian warfare on the French officers is well known ; he thought that it tended to demoralise those who saw no other sort of service. Indian service sometimes has a similar tendency on the British who belong to it. Men who have made a great figure on that stage almost invariably collapse when they get home. In Eastern life the medium is too unresisting, in average times, to render success there an unfailing test of merit. The people ruled by the administrator, the army encountered by the General, do not show sufficient opposition to call out the best qualities. Yet there have been tasks of a harder kind to deal with ; and whether or not they may have proved too much for those who have dealt with them, these latter have gained enormously both in strength and inflexibility. And two, at least, of our Indian celebrities have gathered laurels elsewhere, after leaving India. The "Sepoy General," Arthur Wellesley, lived to beat down and eclipse the great soldier who sneered at him ; and Charles Metcalfe was the first man who really did any permanent good to British America.

It is therefore evident that there occurs from time to time in the camps and councils of India something which not only does not demoralise the British official there, but greatly raises his level. *Terrarum donimos evehit at Deos.*

But there has, alongside of this stream of greatness, always run a modest rivulet of another, and perhaps a more enduringly beneficent, kind. While the "noble palm" has exercised its elevating power on some, there have been others who have been "mingled with Gods above by the ivy-wreath prize of learning." Horace

has elsewhere spoken of the great gain that lies hidden beneath the apparently blighting light of Melpomene's favour :—

“ The man whom the Muses have smiled on at birth
 May never illumine the Bench or the Bar,
 Get a kite's tail of honors for statesmanly worth,
 Or be thanked by the Senate for conquest in war—
 No ; but gardens and woods of the beautiful Thames,
 And the great Queen of cities, may echo his praise ;
 And his name may be ranked with the favourite names
 Of writers whose charm has turned envy to praise.”

This thesis has been illustrated in British India by Sir William Jones, by Lord Macaulay, by Mountstuart Elphinstone, by H. M. Elliot, H. Torrens, John Muir, E. Thomas, H. H. Wilson, and by others of whom some are still living. And it would be a great error to suppose—as the official mind is too apt to do—that such men have necessarily been unprofitable servants whose efficiency for the public good has been impaired by their knowledge and their accomplishments. Jones was one of the most learned and industrious judges that ever sat on an Indian Bench ; Macaulay's memory claims three-fourths of the credit due to the best Penal Code in the world ; Elphinstone was the unpaid Counsellor of Indian affairs for two generations and the only member of the services between Warren Hastings and the Lawrence's who was ever offered the post of Governor-General.* Elliot was Lord Dalhousie's Foreign Secretary ; and, if Torrens never rose higher than the post of Resident at Murshidabad, it was greatly due to the hostility of a “ Bengal ring ” of officials who disliked his candour and penetration, and who, by averting the sunshine of prosperity and promotion, turned Apollo's Bay into the likeness of a barren fig tree.

Instances such as these—and many more might be quoted—raise two questions, indeed. It is not only possible to doubt whether the literary spirit is any drawback to a public man's efficiency, but it is a further question whether it is not always a degradation for the man possessed by that spirit to become a mere official or descend into the arena of public life. This latter question was constantly put to himself by Macaulay, who ultimately decided it for the benefit of mankind (in his own case) by giving up office and Parliament, that he might go on with his history. M. Maxime Ducamp has also called attention to the matter in his *Recollections* : speaking of the state of France

* “ A great and accomplished man life, etc, II. 404.]
 as any I have known.” [Macaulay's

in 1848, and of the presence of Lamartine and others of his kind in the Cabinet and the Chamber, he winds up as follows :—

“What memory would be so precise and so puerile as to name the ministers whom France has worn out during the past fifty years? What memory so obtuse and so dull as not to know the poets and great artists? But to be content with being only a simple man of genius requires, perhaps, a superior modesty, and a sense that the most exquisite gifts weaken and wither in the exercise of certain functions.”

Scattered over Macaulay's correspondence* in Mr. Trevelyan's charming Biography, lie frequent references to the advantages of a life of private study over one passed in public callings. Rich in humour, romance, memory, and expression, Macaulay wanted that complete aptitude for mundane experience which gives a man true flexibility and impartiality.† But he tried both kinds of life, and with a strenuous exercise of ability that enabled him to reach the summit in both. After being a Member of Council in India, a Commissioner in Bankruptcy and a Cabinet Minister at home, he deliberately returned to his study to devote the rest of his life to a great literary effort, such as he had meditated for twenty years.

The pedants of law and of business will agree with Lord Macaulay, though from a different point of view. They like to get rid of the merest suspicion of genius among their ranks, not for the sake of genius but rather from fear of it. When Sir A. Cockburn died lately, the *Standard* reminded us, with a somewhat sardonic air, that it had been said of Brougham that “if he had known a little law, he would have known a little of everything.” The late Chief Justice of England was a far greater lawyer than Brougham; and he might be defended from such sneers by the reply that those who indulge in them, if they did not know a little law, would know nothing.

Men of genius in such positions are the severest critics of themselves. They see too clearly to be deceived. One of the greatest of literary lawyers thus expressly refers to the danger of the attempt to combine technical dexterity with breadth of culture :—

“What has always given me a bad opinion of myself is that there are so few positions in public life for which I should have been really fitted. As for my work, as a Judge, I know that my

* *Life and Letters*. In two Volumes. London, 1876.

† “Macaulay might have been as much of a Whig... as he chose, if

he had had in his composition more of the man of the world, and less of the man of the study.” II. *Life and Letters*, p. 180.

heart is quite upright: I have always had a fair comprehension of my cases in themselves; but as to forms and regulations, I have never been able to make anything of them. Yet I have taken pains to do so; and what has most of all disgusted me has been to see in blockheads the very talent which, so to speak, escaped myself."

So wrote Montesquieu, when Chief of the Provincial Court of Bordeaux: a great jurist, the founder of philosophical history, but, in his own opinion, not altogether successful as a Judge. The habits of mind engendered by such studies as those which resulted in the *Esprit des Lois* were not altogether such as to fit him for his duties on the Bench. He saw official details better dealt with by blockheads (*des bêtes*). Yet some words are added which seem to show the creeping in of a little irony into this tirade of self-condemnation:—

"From the moment," proceeds the President, "that my writings took, officials cooled towards me: I underwent a thousand rebuffs. It can only be supposed that, being inwardly hurt by one's celebrity they avenge their own feelings by seeking to humiliate one. In truth, one must have a certain consciousness of merit to endure even praise from such people with patience."

Public men of this kind are rare; and their appearance is discouraged by the conditions of modern life. Their tendency is to get as much as they can out of this unsatisfying world of ours. They try to make the best of it, not only for themselves but for those around them. But unhappily those around them are not always willing to be helped, at least in their way. The world has its own notions of what it wants, and expects from Ariel the work of Caliban. A superior man in the public service is not only doing work that might often be done equally well by a cheaper instrument, he is on the road to effacement and destruction. He is not only apt to be the victim of calumny from routineers who resent his superiority; he is likely to be misunderstood by a surface-judging public. He may be loyal and (as Montesquieu says) upright; faithful, not alone to the official hierarchy, but—what is a rarer and greater thing—faithful to the cause of the people for which the hierarchy exists. But, so long at least as he is among us, he may be less distinguished than the soulless drudge who cannot see beyond the four walls of his court or office. It is when such men go that we begin to appraise them justly. The mere official, with nothing to lean on but his post despises those graces that give true influence and lasting fame. Such men do nothing, but what they call "their duty," and, from defects of nature and of training, fail to do even that to the best advantage. Mankind have been to them but the crude

material of their bungling operations : the sweep of their ignorance has been encyclopædic ; they affect to look down upon desert from the artificial elevation of a monumental dulness ; they pass away, leaving behind them a scene of ruin and an atmosphere as of exploded torpedoes. It is to such men that India owes the less successful part of her story ; her debts and burdens, the destitution of her children and the cœcumenical ludicrousness of her finance.

Since, however, it is possible that the administration of British India may, for some time to come, be partly liable to be affected by these mechanical officials (for like will employ like) it is to be feared also that originality will continue to have a rough time in the public service. A man who passes his leisure in frivolity or in vice (*v. Ali Baba's Secretary to Government*), is not regarded as playing truant from that sacred territory of dogma and cooked statistics wherein the official mind finds its Paradise. But an uphill path awaits him whose pleasures are mental, and his thoughts free ; who does his work with trained faculties, admits nothing as fact until it has been duly established, and even then holds most questions open ; who works for the people as much as for his immediate employers.

Some men there are, and have ever been, full of faults, it may be, they also ; but, for all that, men who can commit, with impunity, this species of *lèse Bumble*. But Bumble has resented it with all his might ; and it has been the men of action, rather than the men of thought, who have succeeded in overbearing his resentment. The course of even these men, especially in the earlier part, has not been smooth ; and in the case of the other class—the men of thought—the difficulties have sometimes proved insurmountable.

On the whole, it must be said that, although there may be nothing that a "cocktail" can do which cannot be done better by a thorough-bred, yet to employ the one to do work that is well suited to the other, is a waste of power. Even if we are sure that Pegasus can draw a straight furrow, there is so much that is more appropriate for him to do that it will scarcely be wise to enter Pegasus for a ploughing match. If the man of genius does happen to be so misplaced, let him remember the sentiment thus expressed by a French writer* :—

"What is usually the best thing for a man of letters, who is also a man of honour, yet has undertaken public employments, is to find himself—after getting quit of them—still possessed of the same resources for his support by his own labor that he had before he took them up."

Ginguené, quoted by M. Ducamp—*ubi sup.*

And even should he never shake them off, or live to revisit his appropriate pastures, on the slopes of Parnassus, so dear to his youth, he may yet console himself in the spirit of the exiled Roman poet* :—

“Bereft of country, home, and you, O friends,
And all the world can take away of bliss,
I still enjoy the cheer my own thought lends,
No earthly ruler’s power extends to this.”

Having thus reviewed the past of the Indian services, it only remains for us to make a brief estimate of what is possible for the future. And here we must discriminate between two distinct classes of employment. For military command, as for that peculiar executive duty of the civil officer which in India includes something of the military character, European employes will probably long be needed, and will enjoy, almost or quite, a monopoly of the more responsible appointments. To all who understand the question the reasons of this must be obvious. It may be that great wars and grave political convulsions are not in the immediate future of British India—though who can say? A great change has undoubtedly taken place within the last thirty or forty years. Wild countries present to their conquerors the exact amount of difficulty which these—if practical man—find their best touch-stone. The nature of the case, as we have already had occasion to observe, is what draws out their qualities and almost ensures success. Yet, long after the conquest has been consolidated, it may still require the control of a powerful personality: and the qualities of the heart may continue to be more essential than those of the head for its administration. It would be as easy to restore the astronomy of Hipparchus as to persuade the public mind that nomination was a better system than competition for the first appointment of Indian officers, military or civil. Great as were the merits of such lights of the old system as those mentioned above, it cannot be denied that they shone out upon a background of general obscurity. A man of mediocre attainments was the average “cadet” or “writer”; well-meaning and zealous, but one who would have hardly earned butter to his bread in any other calling. And below the average was an abyss of indolence and ignorance such as was only to be expected in services whose members were appointed without proof of merit and maintained without reference to conduct.†

It was to cure such evils that the new system was introduced. In the early debates on the subject in 1853, Macaulay uttered

* Ovid (*Tristia*.)

† There was even a residuum of
ots, lunatics, and dolts. Instances

might be named: but it is better to
dismiss them with an *in pace*.

speculations which may not have been altogether realized, but were certainly wise and generous:—

“If I understand,” said he, “the opinions imputed to Lord Ellenborough, he thinks that the proficiency of a young man in those pursuits which constitute a liberal education is not only no indication that he is likely to make a figure in after life but that it positively raises a presumption that he will be passed by those whom he overcame in those early contests * * *

But it seems to me that there never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence, or a more unvaried experience than this, that men who distinguish themselves in youth above their contemporaries almost always keep, to the end of their lives, the start which they have gained. Take down in any library the Cambridge Calendar. There you have the list of honours for a hundred years. Look at the list of wranglers and of junior optimes; and I will venture to say that, for one man who had in after life distinguished himself among the junior optimes, you will find twenty among the wranglers. The general rule is, beyond a doubt, that the men who were first in the competition of the schools have been first in the competition of the world.” Later on (in the *Report* of the following year) he explained himself more fully, showing that the object of the system was not to “hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and of small depth. But the youth who does best what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to do well will generally prove a superior man.”

If this great writer was led into an extreme of enthusiasm about the value of his own pursuits, that can only be taken as a further proof of what every one knew already, *viz.*, that there was a great deal of human nature in him as in us all. It may be true that qualities that make a man great as an Edinburgh Reviewer, a Parliamentary Orator, even a Historian, are not necessarily those which will make the best commandant of corps of Bhils, or Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur. Such men as were the best of the old services may not have always had literary tastes or talents. They (it may be further argued) will come to India no more. The mixture of docility and self-reliance that produced a Lawrence or an Outram may be found in men of various characters and antecedents. It may be met with in “plucky” dunces who have got by chance into trying positions. It may be met with among modest men of genius who have developed late and learned to measure their tasks with the insight of originality. But there is one class in which it will be nearly vain to look for it, namely, the class of youngsters who have just succeeded far enough to make them conceited, and yet have not laid up resources for future emergency.

All this may be true; yet two things remain. You cannot return to nomination; and if you could, it would do no good. The average—the general level of fitness—has been raised by educational competition; and that competition is well-suited to produce the men demanded by the present conditions of the problem. Formerly the work of India was either in bad hands, when it was not done at all; or it was in exceptional hands, for whom nothing was too difficult. In this latter case the very difficulty constituted the best of educations. That old formative character, the work of India has to a great degree lost: and the reign of Law being substituted for that of personal qualifications, these latter are no longer either required or developed. *Autres temps autres mœurs*; we do not want heroes to preside over drainage-committees or decide book-debts. Yet, in so far as duties of what may be called the heroic sort survive, or are even possible, it may be as well, that the old British qualities should be, to some extent at least, ensured. A Bengali Colonel could never lead Pathans, or a Tam ul Collector rule a Sikh population. We ought never to forget that Britain owes it to herself and to the world to give India the very best administration compatible with the means at her command. People sometimes speak as if the Natives of the country had “a right” to the best positions in the service. But that is not so. It might be more correct to argue that the people of a conquered country have no absolute rights; though it may be a duty for their conquerors to do all that is needed to maintain the conquest with security and honour. A good administration will be a great part of such duty. But this, until the Asiatic character is much altered, can only be ensured by entrusting the control to properly trained Europeans. Once more, it is by the heart rather than the head that this kind of work will be best performed. When the late Mr. Tucker was consulted, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, on the plan of giving “writerships” to be contended for as prizes in public schools, he shrewdly replied that the ordinary employments of Indian service did not demand a very high culture. He quoted Goldsmith, and spoke of the absurdity of using razors to cut blocks withal. And in fact the mind should not be too acute that has to be “made up” fifty times in a day, to put itself boldly into the hands of superiors for instruction and into the hands of subordinates for execution. It may be necessary, ordinarily, to select the candidates for this part of the administration, from among successful schoolboys, though it may be hoped that good soldiers will still keep a share of employment, and that Munro and Malcolm, Outram and H. Lawrence and Durand may still find occasional representatives. But a close service, recruited from Europe, must still, in all probability, continue for some time to form the chief nursery of executive officials.

In regard, however, to the work of the Bench, this has not been shown to be the case. It was long the opprobrium of India that judicial employment was largely reserved for men not thought fit for anything else. Of late years a significant change has shown itself. One Provincial Governor makes judges of young officers who are supposed to show a special fitness for that kind of work. Another goes further and endeavours to increase their fitness by special training. In three High Courts distinguished Native pleaders have been promoted to seats on the Bench, and one Asiatic Barrister was for some time a District Judge in Oudh, until he obtained still higher preferment under an enlightened foreign Government. For those who, from mere pride of race, feel indignant at the admission of Natives to such high posts, no sympathy is demanded. The pride of race which keeps a man's hands clean and his heart pure, is a noble pride and full of promise for human needs. But the pride of the Spartan at home among his Helots, the pride that says no good thing can come out of Galilee, is a shameful blindness which is inconsistent with modern thought and civilisation. One of the most remarkable things about the position of the British in India is that, ever since the country was directly submitted to the Royal rule, the people have become more and more peaceful and loyal. Let their first reward be the privilege of being judged by their peers; the London selection by competition—shown by experience to be almost entirely entered for by Europeans—be limited to a minimum number of men requisite for executive work, and then throw judicial employment open to competition in India, a test of fitness in work, rather than fitness at examinations, a rivalry not of boys but of men. Picked men from the bar would, as is now partly the case, find their way to the lower benches, and all the more if they knew that these were the only stepping-stones to those above. And, as a matter of course, let the judicial "line" be wholly separate from the very first. Keeping the members of the administrative service, and those military men who succeed in finding their way into it, solely to administrative employment. That is the idea of the system in the Bombay Presidency, and no complaints have come before the public as to the way in which it works. In the Punjab, too, it has been found necessary to appoint to many districts special judicial officers, who relieve the administrative officers of all, or nearly all of the judicial work.

Division of labour is not felt to be a necessity in the simpler stages of society. Under the old English system the Witenagemot was—as Blackstone reminds us—not only the legislative assembly but the Supreme Court of justice. Then came the *Aula Regis* under the Normans, of which we see a faint trace,

in the modern Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.* But the separation of Governmental from judicial business, and their allotment to different bodies, are "refinements," as Blackstone says, "of a later and more civilised" age. Even to the present day the writs of Courts-of-record continue to run in the Queen's name. So in the origin of the Anglo-Indian system the Chief Courts of the Presidency consisted of the Governor and two Members of Council. As the evolution of Society proceeds, it becomes apparent that the judicial functions are at least as distinct from those that are purely administrative as they are from the machinery of legislation. Indeed, it may be said, that judges continue to have a share in law-making long after they cease to be administrators. Coming down lower in the official hierarchy we find that in many parts of India the chief administrators of Districts, though still called "Magistrates," have practically divested themselves of magisterial duty. What has been thus instinctively done, requires to be completed by authoritative sanction. When the district officer is recognised as a simple ruler, his position will become more useful, as well as more decorous. No longer appearing as a party in Courts nominally controlled by himself, he will fall into his true place as sub-prefect; the ultimate custodian of life, property, and public tranquillity, the final link in the financial and fiscal chains. He will then fitly represent in his limited area the benevolent power of the Crown in Parliament; and will administer,—even more clearly than did the brave old servants of the Great Company—*auspicio Regis et Senatus Anglicæ*.

To sum up: the conditions of conquest necessitated the existence of conquerors; a set of men something like Cortez and Pizarro, though with certain better qualities, as suited the rather better times. When conquest was concluded—which was not until after 1857—the conditions changed. Instead of the crusader or the buccaneer, the Secretary and the Magistrate became requisite. *Non defensoribus istis tempus eget*: the self-taught, self-helping hero, and the vagabond dunce, must stay in England, or seek their fortune in the rough work of the Bush. What India may now fairly expect from Britain is well-educated, well trained men, to steer her course until her own sons have qualified themselves to act as pilots. It must be the office of intelligent and rightly improved opinion to mark the rocks, shoals, or currents that may beset her course. One can then do no more than express his best wishes for her safe and happy navigation.

H. G. KEENE.

* *The Communia Placita non sequuntur Curiam nostram* is a clause in the Great Charter.

ART. II—THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY OF BENGAL AND UPPER INDIA.

THE following is substantially a continuation of two essays which appeared successively in the pages of this review. One, entitled "Caste in India from a native point of view," appeared in the number for October 1880, and the other, headed "Our joint-family organisation," in October last year. In the present essay it will be my endeavour, first of all, to show, with reference to the Hindu law and the village communities of Upper India, the communal character of our property in general. Indeed, if I have taken the right view of the facts, property with us was at first, *i.e.*, so far as written records go, common to the public, and so much so as to ignore the existence of private property altogether. Subsequently, however, a distinction between private and common property was developed, as it would seem, through a strong attachment for the family tie. But even now the idea of private property as belonging absolutely to an individual does not seem to be quite cleared up.

In showing the above, I shall have to place before the reader accounts of a class of village communities which apparently conflict with the provisions of the Hindu law, but seem to me to be a survival of an older order of things. I allude to what is called the Bhaiachara tenure in reports and law books. I shall next show, with reference to the foregoing, and a few more facts bearing upon what may be called the structure of Indian villages and disposition of village lands, that there is a homogeneity between the village communities of Upper India and those of other countries in and out of Asia on the one hand, and, on the other, between the former and the villages of Bengal. But it also seems to me, with reference to the Hindu law of inheritance, and the traditions and usages about what is called the Gotra, that the parallel between village life in and out of India, so far as traceable by authentic evidence, would be stronger still in respect of a class of communities which may have existed in India in the past. I mean Gotra communities. And I may mention at the outset, that in this connexion I shall have to enter into a short controversy to show that the traditions of a common lineage in existing village communities have to be discussed with reference to those of what is called the Gotra.

Taking now the whole range of the subject thus expanded,—Gotra communities of India, the village communities of other countries besides India, and those of Upper India and Bengal,—I shall endeavour to trace the origin of and the difference between two important functions of these societies—governmental and agricultural;—how they have become differentiated and have affected the landed rights, and how they have caused a distinction between two sections of our community: one holding a relatively superior position, and the other, like the serfs of other countries, owing labor-service to the first. I shall then show that the Talookdars and Biswadars of Upper India, the Zamindars of Bengal, the Rajahs of both, the territorial aristocracy elsewhere, and probably also the Dwijas and patricians of old, represent the first of these two sections or strata of society, and that the rayats represent the other. But I am inclined to think that the Hindus have avoided at least some of the evil effects of the social inequality incidental to this evolution, by having omitted to impose any restriction upon immigration into any village from elsewhere. But while this important principle of individual liberty has been maintained, they have deemed it expedient to organise their societies upon stricter rules of franchise than are seen elsewhere, the general result being a series of small autonomous bodies living in rather loose contact with one another, but each sufficiently compact, and forming altogether a fairly constituted organisation.

And, last of all, I shall show that Hindu society furnishes to all the world one most important solution of the question of the functions and relations of the Church and the State. I need hardly mention that I am deeply conscious of the vastness and difficulty of my subject and of my own incompetence to handle it. I am aware also that it requires more than ordinary mastery to condense one's thoughts upon a vast subject like this into the short compass of a review article. But since my powers cannot be expanded further than to write such fragmentary essays, I must crave indulgent forbearance from my readers. I am, besides, but groping in the dark, and must be content if I can only succeed in showing the great students of Indian history, that something may be found out about a region where I feel as if I were being completely lost.

In discussing the nature of the landed tenures of Upper India as they are now found to exist, Mr. Thomason then Collector of Azimgurh, observes:—

“It is of little use to view it (the subject of landed tenure) theoretically, and to refer to the maxims and principles laid down in books of law.” He considers “it questionable if they were ever acted upon with any consistency..... and the disuse into which they have fallen, for centuries has

practically annulled them." (Settlement Report of Azimgurh, 1837, para 22 : Reports on the Revenue Settlement of the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency under Regulation IX. of 1833. By authority printed at the Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1862. Vol. I., p. 12.)

Mr. Elliot, however, in speaking of the carelessness with which the genealogical tree is usually drawn up by District officers and embodied in settlement proceedings, observes :—

"Another material point has been overlooked, namely, its incompatibility with the law of Hindu inheritance. No regard has been paid to the difference between the rights of severalty and coparcenary, to lineal descent or survivorship." Thus it would seem, for all that Mr. Thomason says, that the maxims and principles laid down in books of Hindu law are not altogether theoretical or obsolete. Oddly enough, however, Mr. Elliot observes in the very next sentence—

"Even the son's interest, in many cases, has been separated from the father's and while it can only be inchoate and contingent, has thus been made absolute and unconditional." (Meerut Report, 1835, para 71, Settlement Reports of North-Western Provinces, Vol. I., p. 198.)

Mr. Elliot does not seem to be aware that whatever the case may be in the Dayabhag law, the son's portion according to that of the Mitak'hara is not contingent and may be held separate from the father's and become absolute when there has been a partition already made. But, upon the whole, it would seem that the folly of ransacking the Hindu law for the purpose of making a revenue settlement did not lie so much in the divergence visible all over the world between law as it is written, and as it is actually observed, as in the blissful ease which accompanies the wise notion, that any thing not to be found in the Koran, or for the matter of that in Justinian or Hansard's debates, is unfit for study and deserves to be cast into the fire. Mr. Thomason, in the report previously quoted from, enters into some historical facts to illustrate how the proprietary right was found in many cases to be exercised by village communities. If he had turned to the maxims and principles laid down in books of law, he might have noticed the following passage :—

"Does property arise from partition? Or does partition of pre-existent property take place?"

Again :—

"Is partition the cause of property, or not? If it be not the cause of property, but birth alone be so, then, since property is by birth, it follows that partition is of property." (Colebrooke's Mitak'hara, Rajendra Misser's Ed., p. 4.)

The great pro-consul and the famous author of the historians of India might then have found it easy to explain the whole mystery of the thing. For to speak from the standpoint of the

author of *Mitak'hara*, it is patent enough that partition is the cause or immediate antecedent of *private* property ; and the pre-existent property alluded to was meant only for the *collective* property which belongs to the whole tribe or nation. The people's thoughts being then confined all to their own little world, everything that existed beyond was naturally overlooked : the commonwealth to them was all that is, and what was not the common wealth being unknown, the mystery of property was easily overlooked ; nay, from that very circumstance, it appears afterwards to have become equally hard for men like the author of the *Mitak'hara* to account for the non-recognition of such an obvious fact as property. Moreover, we know from books of law that partition of the kind alluded to does not quite extinguish the collective character of the property. Partition, as noticed in *Mitak'hara* must, therefore, have served for the first time to define what was one's own, and what was not. And the sense of mine and thine, the origin of property being thus traceable to partition, by the evidence afforded by books of Hindu law, it would have become easy to distinguish between—(1) common public property, of the kind mentioned above ; (2) common private property, vested in a coparcenary body, and (3) private individual property.

As the record stands, however, we have the following upon the high authority of Mr. Thomason :— I will not hesitate to make long extracts, for I know that, in addition to their sterling merit as the most reliable evidence available, they will commend themselves as being more readable than my own clumsily worded remarks :—

“ 44. I have thus endeavoured to show the probable origin of private proprietary right in the land, and of the forms under which it is found to be at present exercised. I will proceed next to classify these forms, and to point out the principal features which characterize them.

“ 45. The proprietary right in the land may rest either in a single individual, or in a community of people. This community may divide amongst themselves the profits of the estate, either according to their ancestral shares or according to some arbitrary rule having reference to the quantity of land which each member cultivates. Of the two latter tenures the former has been sometimes styled the *Zemindary*, the latter *Putteedaree* or *Bhyachara*. None of these terms have local application. The term *Zemindar* is generally applied in the district to any one having a proprietary right in the land, whilst *Putteedar* is restricted to those members of the village community who are not under engagements directly with the Government. The term *Bhyachara* is not known.” (*Settlement Reports*, Vol. I, p. 20.)

Speaking of the first of the three classes of tenure mentioned above—that in which the proprietary right rests in a single individual—the writer continues :—

“ 47. All these are evidently liable to partition under the existing laws, in the course of the succeeding generations. The vesting of the

entire right in an individual is rather incidental than natural to the tenure." *Ibid*, p. 20.)

Here, then, we see that property, even when vested in a single individual, does not continue long to possess the character of what is understood by private property in Europe. The property is only *liable* to partition, but is not actually subjected to the process in every case. And no provision or custom exists as in European countries for the shares when grown too minute or small in area to be sold off and reconsolidated. The absolute right of the individual over his property is, as a rule, of a temporary, and therefore exceptional, character. The matter, however, is practically simplified by part or whole of the lands being let out to tenants or *asamis*, as they are called; for then the liability to division affects only the rents paid by the tenants, while the troubles of an actual partition are confined to what is called the *sir* land, somewhat akin to the home-farms of English landowners that we have read of.

In Bengal this *sir*—or as it is called here *nij-jot*—land is quite insignificant. Upon this point we shall have to dwell a little longer further on. But it may be noted here that the double rights in land, of the landlord and the tenant are in this country to a certain extent due to the complications arising from our system of collective property, and that the fact should not be ignored in considering the economic conditions of rent.

We next pass on to Mr. Thomason's account of what is called the zamindari tenure in Upper India, as given in his report of the Azimgurh District already quoted from:—

"53. If the proprietary right rests in many members of a village community, they may divide the profits according to their ancestral shares, or according to some arbitrary rule regulated by the quantity of land in the cultivation of each proprietor, or in other words, his *sir* land.

"54. When the profits are divided amongst the several coparceners according to their ancestral shares, they may or they may not be cultivators of the land, *i.e.*, the holders of *sir*. The simplest form which the case can assume is, when they all live together as a joint undivided family, one person managing the estate for the rest, or appointing a common manager, and dividing the profits at the close of the year. Sometimes they divide the estate, their responsibility continuing joint. Sometimes the cultivators only are divided by the *patwaree*, each collecting from those assigned to him; and this assignment may take place annually, or, when once made, may continue in force till a re-partition is demanded. There are instances where each person collects from each cultivator the portion of the rent which is his share, but this is very uncommon.

"55. When the proprietors cultivate themselves, the case is rather more involved. If the *sir* of each parcener bears the same proportion to the total quantity of *sir* land, that his share does to the whole, the *sir* may be thrown out of account, and the collections from the *assamies* divided amongst them according to their shares. This, however, is seldom the case; it is more usual to levy a rate on the *sir* land, either the same that

it would bear if cultivated by assamies, or some other fixed and arbitrary rate, generally a low and favorable one. The village accounts being thus made up, the profits are divided according to the shares. In this case, if the rate levied on the sir land is the same as on the assamies' land, each parcener can take up as much land as he likes as his sir, otherwise there are constant bickerings on the subject, for, of course, the increase of sir cultivation diminishes the rent-roll.

"56. When, however, the proprietors live separate, but divide the profits among them, it is by far the most common to divide the estate, and each person to manage his own share as he likes. In course of time, however, inequalities arise either in the quality of the land in one share by superior management, or by the gradual encroachments of one share on the common waste land. This gives rise to violent disputes, some claiming re-partition, others resisting it. These disputes are commonly called in the District, "Kum a beshi," i.e., where the contending parties affirm that the shares are less or more one than another. The man who thinks he has less than his right, claims to pay not according to his ancestral share, but according to his possession. This is not admitted by the other, and default ensues. Estates have thus been often brought to the hammer, at the time when sales by auction were the favourite means of realizing the public demand. Now they constantly lead to attachment of the estate. The only effectual method of terminating such disputes is by re-partition of the whole, presuming, of course, that participation according to ancestral share be an admitted feature of the tenure. Clause II, section XII, Regulation VII, 1822, evidently contemplates cases of this sort, and confers the necessary power on the settling officers." (Settlement Reports, vol. I., pp. 22-24.)

It may not be generally known that a re-partition, somewhat of the same kind, is effected even in the permanently settled lands of Bengal. Some people are given to thinking that society was completely overturned here by Lord Cornwallis, because the communal relations reported in the papers I have been quoting from, were not legally recognised. The truth, however, is that much of these relations is a necessary part of the Hindu law, and could not possibly be discarded, for all the alleged imitation of English landlordism, so long as the joint-family system was maintained, as it is maintained even now. In Bengal, sir lands are, as I have said, of no great consequence, but even the lands let out to tenants are partitioned for limited periods, the technical term employed for the purpose (in the part of the country with which I am familiar) being *Huda bandi*.

A *huda* means a parcel of zamindari lands allotted to a co-sharer for collection of his portion of the rents, until a fresh repartition is made. In some cases the partition is not open to revision, and the *huda* is then called a *pakka huda*. The document for *huda* division does not, so far as I am aware, give metes and bounds, but sets forth the rayats and the amount of rent payable by each, as assigned to the holder of each *huda* for the time being.

Mr. Thomason next passes on to a kind of tenure which, so far as I understand the matter, has, in all probability, chiefly, if not entirely, led him to suppose that the Hindu law is obsolete and useless in furnishing any clue to the actual rights of the people. I am, however, deeply conscious of the objection that the theory I allude to, is an attempt to produce from inference a history which does not certainly exist.

In my previous paper on our joint-family organisation, I took occasion to observe :—“The provision for partition has for its condition precedent a definition of shares as involved in the law of succession,” or rather inheritance. “The question, therefore is whether the joint-family organisation ever could or did exist without a definition of shares.” Elsewhere it was observed : “When a whole village community worked in common at tillage, there could be no great need for lotting out the lands to smaller groups like the family : the son’s coparcenary right would in that case.....follow as a matter of course.” Now the whole of my argument here, hangs upon the position that the kind of village society which held, as owners, the land-tenures we have been hitherto considering, is the same as the village communities we have read of as existing elsewhere. Mr. Thomason, when Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, promulgated certain Directions for Revenue officers, in which we find, with reference to the land-tenures in question :—

“85. The coparcenary tenures are the most common and embrace cases where the estates are held by those singularly constituted village communities which have been so often described, and have been not all unaptly said to form “little republics, within themselves”—(Ed. of 1858, p. 50.)

A foot-note to the above cites a minute by Sir C. Metcalfe, from which Mr. Elphinstone extracts a long paragraph, commencing as follows :—

“The village communities are little republics, having nearly every thing they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign invasions. They seem to last where nothing else lasts, &c.”—(Cowell’s Elphinstone, 1874, p. 68.)

Now an examination of village communities in other countries will show that one of the essential features of the institution is the periodical repartition of the land held by the community as their collective property. M. Laveleye writes with reference to primitive property in general :—

“The arable, the pasturage, and the forest are farmed in common. Subsequently the cultivated land is divided into parcels which are distributed by lot among the several families, a mere temporary right of occupation being thus allowed to the individual. *The soil still remains the collective property of the clan, to whom it returns from time to time, that a new*

partition may be effected. This is the system still in force in the Russian commune ; and was, in the time of Tacitus, that of the German tribe."— (Primitive property, p. 4.)

Again, with respect to the Russian commune, we are told :—

"Each male inhabitant of full age is entitled to an equal share of the land of which the *Mir* is the proprietor. In primitive times there was no partition of the soil, the land was cultivated in common, and the produce divided among all in proportion to the number of laborers in each family. At the present time...some communes...are found where this system is still in force.... At a later period a partition of the soil was effected every year, or every three years* * * The period of partition varies...in different district * * * Since 1719 there have been ten general re-divisions, the last of which occurred in 1857." (*Ibid.*, p. 10.)

It would take me too long to set forth every little analogy that I have been able to note between the village system of India and that of Russia. But it will be easy enough to conceive that where collective ownership is the rule, periodical repartition must be a necessary incident thereof. Now this repartition, as Mr. Wallace's book and that of Mr. Laveleye show, was regulated according to the circumstances of each case by the joint decision of the community. They had no rule of inheritance to go by, for no such rule was required as long as all the coparceners exercised their rights in common, and without the intervention of any independent authority. In course of time, however, the period for which a partition was allowed to stand was gradually prolonged, and ultimately the term became indefinite and subject only to the demand of the community for a repartition. It may thus be fairly conceived that in many cases a partition of a rather too old date became final and absolute by the subsequent enforcement of a law of inheritance, such as the Hindu law sets forth and as has been alluded to in my previous essay. It is here that we perceive the Hindus to have made a new departure in the communal system which, according to Mr. Laveleye, seems to have once prevailed all over Asia and Europe. And it is a singular proof of the aversion of our countrymen for all revolution that even our law of inheritance was never enforced so as to obliterate the traces of a prior order of things. The Settlement Officer records—

"57. But where the proprietary right rests in a community, the profits of the estate are often enjoyed, not according to the ancestral shares, but according to some arbitrary apportionment on the seer land of each proprietor. This apportionment of profit shows itself in the form of a reduced rate of assessment on the seer land. In such cases the Government revenue is said to be paid or made up by a *bach*, on the seer. These tenures of course suppose that each proprietor is himself a cultivator, though it may so happen, and sometimes does, that the proprietor is not a cultivator, but has acquired the share by purchase, public or private, from a cultivating proprietor. Where the profits of the estate are

divided according to ancestral shares, the seer of a zemindar is that which he has under his own cultivation, i.e., which he has cultivated at his own cost, and by his own capital. In tenures, however, of the kind which we are now considering, the word seer acquires, as it were, an artificial meaning. It is that portion of the land in the possession of a sharer on which he pays the *bach, h* and which, when compared with the total amount of seer in the village, represents his interests in the estate. It depends upon the custom of the estate whether this be all or any part in his actual cultivation, or whether he have any other cultivation in the village than this. Instances are not very common where the sharer cultivates no part of his seer, and they generally arise, as above stated, out of forced or voluntary transfers from cultivating proprietors. It is common, however, for the proprietor to under-let a part of his seer, obtaining from the tenant the full ryottee rates, and paying himself only according to the *bach, h*. Instances are not common where the proprietors cultivate more than their seer. One singular case deserves special notice:—In Mouzah Oomahpoor, Pergunnah Mhownat Bhunjun, thirty-six beegabs were set apart in the village, and each sharer's right was determined by the portion of this thirty-six beeghas which he cultivated. It was his seer, but besides this he might cultivate as much more of the village as he liked at the common ryottee rates, and so all the sharers did to a considerable extent. Other instances probably might be found where sharers cultivated the land of other shares, or the common lands of the villages, at the usual ryottee rates, but they do not come permanently (*sic*) into notice."—(N.-W. P. Settlement Report, p. 24, vol. I.)

To my mind it seems that in matters of the kind described above, the Settlement Officer has pushed his English habit of accurate thinking a little too far. The *bachh* admittedly varied in different villages; but is it impossible, that it may also have varied from time to time in the same family or community? After all, where a regular hunt is made for the exact fractional share to which a member of a community is assumed to be entitled as his *private* property, it would be easy enough to make your data as to the arbitrary rule of division out of any facts ordinarily available; such for instance, as that since the last repartition he had been holding so many measures of land out of the aggregate area of the village, or that on the last occasion such and such amount of income or expenditure was divided in such and such parts. Facts like these may as well prove that the ratio calculated has always been recognised, as that it has varied from time to time.

The misconception on the part of the Settlement officers seems to have arisen from assuming that the divergence from the requirements of the Hindu law of inheritance, or in other words, the non-recognition of ancestral shares in cases of the kind under consideration, was due to changes *subsequent* to the promulgation of that law. A comparison, however, with the affairs of village communities elsewhere, and with the essential condition of true communism—distribution according to the needs

of the members—will suggest instead, that it was the Hindu law of inheritance which broke through the primitive and older communism.

The following extracts from another Settlement Officer, Mr. Elliot, are cited in support of Mr. Thomason's authority. The classification of the latter has been of late disputed, but the facts will speak for themselves :—

"40. In what I had considered putteedaree, the hereditary interest of individuals will be often, but not always, disregarded ; and possession alone be considered as constituting right. I have said "not always" because in some villages the puttees have been marked off according to the hereditary share, but in others the one bears no proportion to the other. It is difficult to show why in particular villages hereditary right has been set aside. It may have arisen from the partition having taken place during the absence of some of the sharers, or the interest and power of some may have enabled them to assume a larger portion than they would have been entitled to according to the genealogical tree ; however this may have occurred, it is now of little importance to consider, but upon examination it will generally be found as the distinctive feature of the tenure, that proprietary right is limited to actual possession of the land."—(Meerut Settlement, the same book, vol., I., p. 189.)

Mr. Elliot is evidently less prone to theorising than Mr. Thomason.

He then goes on thus :—

42. During the misrule and disorganisation of former Governments, it was necessary for the brotherhood to combine for the purpose of resisting the unlawful encroachments of their neighbours, and the attacks of predatory hordes ; it was not the interest of a party to have his separate share divided off, which could be of no use to him so long as he could not protect it from violence. Union was the only object, and one man was frequently put forward to engage for many villages.

43. Afterwards, when the system of our government afforded protection to the inferior proprietors, they were anxious to come forward to have their shares separated, and to be freed from the authority of the head man of the village. But the most extensive changes have been effected in the tenures through the operations of the surveys and settlements under Regulation VII of 1822. This effect has not, generally I believe, been observed, but in most instances it is easily traced. It has converted Zemindaree into Putteedaree, Putteedaree into Bhyacharee, and undivided bach, h tenures into one or other of the latter ; and though in many respects this division of rights and interests is desirable, yet it has certainly dissolved the harmony of the communities, and created a diversity of conflicting interests ; while a self-sufficient independence, and an exemption from salutary control, have been substituted for mutual reliance and subordination. How far it may be desirable to countenance this total separation of interests deserves consideration, for more evil than good is likely to spring from its accomplishment.

44. Some tribes have a greater inclination for the division of their land than others, and this effect is easily to be ascribed to their peculiar propensities. The Jâts, for instance, on account of their fondness for agricultural pursuits, generally prefer the Bhyachara. The Tugas, either Bhyachara or divided Zemindaree. The Rajpoots, Puthans, and Syuds, being too insol-

vent (*sic*) or proud to cultivate much themselves, generally prefer the *Biswa* division; and the *Goojurs*, being much addicted to thieving, and more indifferent than any other class, scarcely ever have a *Putteedaree* division, and very seldom subdivide a *Zemindaree*. They are usually allowed to resume their own share after a long absence or sojourn in a foreign land, which right would be contested by the other classes, amongst whom the relinquishment of a share, for any length of time, is reckoned a virtual defeasance.—(Do. Do., pp. 189-90.)

58. Where the whole of the land is *Seer*, in these cases the custom which regulates the payments is called *bhaiunsee*, in other places it is called *Beegahdom*; in both the practice is the same. The payments of the early kists are made according to a long established rate on the *Seer* land, and towards the close of the year the whole community assemble to audit the accounts. The village expenses are added to the government *Jumma*, and from the total is deducted the payment of the *Ryots*, if there are any. The remainder is distributed according to the *bach*, h upon the owners of the *Seer* land.

59. This audit of accounts (or *boojharat*, as it is called) is a most important process to the whole of the community. The right of admission to the audit is the criterion of proprietary right. It may so happen that a proprietor has lost his *Seer*, either from poverty, or its accidental appropriation or destruction. Still he has a voice in the audit, and can claim a scrutiny of the *Patwaree's* papers. It may so happen that the force or fraud of a part of the community, or of an individual in it, has for a course of years kept some of the community from the audit. Such exclusion is fatal to the possession of the party. He is considered as dispossessed."—*Thomason's Report*, Do., page 25.

The following extract, from a Settlement Report of a comparatively recent date, will show how the spirit of communism works even now, and along with the separation of individual rights as inaugurated by previous settlement operations:—

Among the *Putteedaree* estates are a few where the tenure is true *Bhyachara*, where profits depend on possession, and not on ancestral descent.

These are all very simple tenures, except in a few villages lying chiefly in the *Ramgunga Khadir*. In these a portion of the area is on the upland, and the rest in the low lying *Khadir*, and liable to constant alterations of area, both in extent and quality. Under these circumstances either all these *Khadir* lands are *Shamlat*, and the proceeds in rents are first appropriated to the payment of *Jumma*, the balance, if any, being made up by a rate on the land held, in severalty; or the profits, if any, are divided on the old ancestral *Biswa* shares, or else the *Khadir* land is divided annually among the sharers according to ancestral shares. There is thus a kind of double tenure *Bhyachara* in the severalty, and *Zemindaree* in the *Shamlat*, giving rise to constant disputes. In these estates all land gained by alluvion is held to be added to the *Shamlat*, not to the severalty of any proprietor to whose lands the new accretion may adjoin.

The *lumberdars* usually endeavour to lay their hands on the profits of *Shamlat*, if there be any, and to get all new accretions to themselves by cultivating it as soon as possible, and refusing to pay any rent on such cultivation. In this they are often successful through the connivance of the *putwaree*.—(*Moen's Settlement Report of the Bareilly district*, 1874. p. 131.)

It is hard to say whether the connivance of the *patwari*, alluded to above, is not part of the same instinct which is said to impel

the more active of the *lumberdars*. A communistic distribution of property is quite naturally uppermost in the minds of those who have to meet the most pressing wants of life, and whose every day life is founded upon the communistic principle. If, then, the *patwari* connives at what, under law, is robbery, he doubtless lays a soothing unction to his soul by somehow justifying this communistic exploitation in miniature.

The evidence cited above will, I think, have clearly shown, that the same law of inheritance applies as well to the land tenures of Bengal as to the "little republics" of India in general. And I trust that the following extracts will show still more clearly, that the villages of Bengal and Upper India are perfectly homogeneous in all essential features. The importance of this point arises from this, that I have to bring forward my personal knowledge of village government, or *Daladali*, in Bengal, in order to establish a connexion between such wide extremes of social life as caste and Hindoo joint family. Though apparently disconnected, the societies of Bengal and Upper India are at bottom homogeneous. The parallel in respect of re-partition has been already noticed, and I pass on to another.

79. The simplest form of an estate is where an individual, or community of individuals, own the whole of a plot of ground lying within certain limits, and bearing a fixed name, as a *Mouzah*. This may, from time immemorial, have borne a single name, and be generally recognised as such, or it may contain within its area two or more *Mouzahs*, *Uslee*, or *Dakhilee* or both, whose separate boundaries have long been lost sight of, and which have become intermingled so as to form one village, probably bearing the double name.

80. The estate, however, may comprise two or more such *Mouzahs*, and these may be situated together or at a distance from each other.

81. The ancestors of many of the Rajpoot communities were possessed of large tracts of land containing many villages. As their descendants multiplied, this tract of land was subdivided, and formed into separate *mehals*. This sub-division sometimes was effected, so as to assign whole *Mouzahs* to different branches of the family. It was seldom, however, especially when the sub-division was amongst many sharers, that the property could be so divided. In this case, perhaps, some entire *Mouzahs* were given to each branch of the family, and the inequalities thence arising were made good in the division of some *Mouzahs* held jointly by all, or else, each *Mouzah* was divided so that every branch of a family should have a portion. The whole *Mouzahs*, or portions of *Mouzahs* belonging to each branch, were collected together, and made into one *Mehal* or estate. But in the *Mouzahs* held jointly, the division probably was not in distinct portions, but field by field, or as it is commonly called *Khet Bhut*. Now these fields sometimes become the subject of sale from one person to another, and the purchaser might call the purchased field by the name of his own *Mouzah*. It thus happens that many *mouzahs* in *Tuppah Chowree*, *Pergunnah Deogaon*, contain within them fields known by the name of other *mouzahs*, perhaps two or three miles distant, and have attached to them fields in other *mouzahs* at an equally great distance. In

Tappah Koolpah, Pergunnah Deogaon, the case was still more involved by the circumstance, that sets of fields in several mouzahs belonging to different branches of the family, bore distinct names. This distinction existed sometimes in the Government records, and not in common usage, sometimes in both.

83. It may be useful to attempt a definition of these two terms, a mouzah, or village, and a mehal or estate.

84. A mouzah or village, is one or more parcels of land called by a certain name, of fixed limits and known locality, neither of which are liable to change. At the time of settlement, each mouzah has a name and number assigned to it in the Government lists, and must so remain till the ensuing settlement, or till, for any special reason, it should appear fit, under express orders from the Government, to break up or alter the arrangement of the mouzahs.

85. A mehal or estate, consists of one or more mouzahs, or a part or parts of one or more mouzahs, covered by one engagement with the Government or Durkhaust, and belonging to one individual or body of persons who are jointly responsible for the Jumma assessed upon the whole. These are liable to constant variations, according as transfers of property may take place.—(*Settlement Report, N. W. P., Vol. 1. pp. 31-33.*)

Anyone who understands the interlacing of lands in Bengal or as it is called *chhite jami*, *benda phonra jami*, or *pital gola jami*, will, I apprehend, at once make out that the structure of the village, or rather the disposition of the village lands, is the same in Bengal as in Upper India.

The following somewhat curious evidence is offered, by way of digression, and partly to strengthen the position advanced of a homogeneity between the village systems of India and those of the rest of the world. It comes naturally while discussing the structure of villages, and has some importance in accounting for the Bhyachara tenure, as a survival of times before the advent of the Hindoo law of inheritance.

First of all, however, we must form a clear conception of the matter from the following account of the Russian Mir :

All the arable land of the commune is divided into three concentric zones, which extend round the village; and these three zones are again divided into three fields according to the triennial arrangement of crops. More regard is paid to proximity than to fertility, as this varies very little in the same district in Russia. The zones nearest the village are alone manured every three, six, or nine years, in the sandy region; while in the region of the black soil, the use of manure is unknown. Each zone is divided into narrow strips from 5 to 10 mètres broad and from 200 to 800 mètres long; several parcels are combined, care being taken that there should be at least one in each zone and in each division of the rotation. Portions are thus formed, which are distributed by lot among the co-partners.—*Laveleye's Primitive Property*, p. 12.

After this I shall leave it to my readers to judge whether the following account was at all governed by any preconceived notions of analogy between the Russian and the Indian village. I cannot

say if the original reports contained any allusion, for I quote at second hand from a book entitled "Memorandum on the Revision of Land Revenue Settlements in the North-Western Provinces, A. D. 1860-1872, by Auckland Colvin, Esq., Secretary, Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces." I can only regret, but cannot avoid, the technical details, for in a discussion of this kind, I must set forth the fullest evidence before the public.

14. "*Artificial Soils.*"—The cultivating body in this district (Allygurh) use an artificial classification, affected slightly by natural peculiarities in certain kinds only. The principle adopted is not, I believe, peculiar to Allygurh, but is common over most parts of the Doab. It is '*variation of quality with reference to proximity to village site.*' Three broad divisions are acknowledged :—

1.—*Bārah* land, close to the site always manured and generally irrigated, and '*dofuslee*,' or capable of producing two crops in the year.

2.—*Munjah*, the fields a little farther from the site, adjoining the *bārah*, always manured, but to a less extent than the *Bārah*; generally irrigated and *dofuslee*.

3.—*Bārah* or '*Jungul*,' the out-lying fields, including all land other than *bārah* or *munjah*.

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15. *Division into Artificial soils.*—(Furrukkabad.) I come next to the more important division into artificial soils. In my Kanouj Report, I stated that, although the lands of each village were popularly divided into *gowhan*, *munjha*, and *burhet*, yet that I did not see enough difference between *munjha* and *burhet* to justify my employing that division. In this, however, I was wrong. There is in most villages a tract outside the *gowhan*, which receives all the manure which the *gowhan* can spare, which gets more attention in cultivation, and grows better crops than the rest of the outlying lands. This tract is the *munjha*. It does not often happen that the three tracts form concentric rings round the village soil. According to the theory, if all the lands were but one site, it would be so; but as a matter of fact the land always is found to differ. There is a little nullah which lays bare the ground in one direction, or the soil is salt, or a pond overflows and makes it sour; or again, there is a hamlet not far off with some manure of its own, and the *munjha* stretches in this direction. Again, most Bhoor villages require so much manure for their *gowhan*, that they have none at all for the rest of the fields, so that there is no real *munjha* in them. The existence of *munjha* must not be assumed, but must be investigated into by careful inspection.

"*Sub-division of Gowhan.*"—Every village, therefore, is *a priori* divisible into those three classes of artificial soils, *gowhan*, *munjha*, and *burhet*: highly manured, slightly manured, and unmanured. Beyond this I have found it necessary to establish two classes of *gowhan*, according to the kind of cultivation prevalent there.

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Sub-divisions of Munjha and Burhet.—Beyond the *gowhan*, the outlying lands are divided into *munjha* and *burhet*, i. e., into first and second class soils, whether *doomut* or *bhoor*.

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16. *Mode of Demarcating the Hars.*—My first step on coming to a village is to ask the cultivators, who among them knows all about the village and its peculiarities and will act as their spokesmen. Two or three men are gener-

ally put forward, and I then ask them what are the 'hars' into which they divide their village, and what rates those 'hars' are supposed to pay. This, they generally tell me with tolerable clearness and accuracy; and with the map in my hand, I form a general impression how the 'hars' lie. There is always a gowhan to the chief site, and generally to each hamlet or *nagla*. The term *munjha* is not used, and I have only adopted it for convenience.

But the 'hars,' with hardly any exception, fall away in their rates as they recede from the site. Then I get these spokesmen to walk in front of me, and explain that I must mark off on the map, the boundaries of all these 'hars,' and they are to go on in front and tell me when the boundary is reached, or any important change in the rate occurs.

Natural Boundaries of the 'Hars'.—It is very remarkable to see how distinct and obvious the 'har' boundaries often are. They frequently consist of natural boundaries, especially roads; frequently of a continuous ditch and mound. It is extremely common for a gowhan to be bounded in this latter way. A change in the shape of fields mostly denotes a change of har, and of rate; as an instance, when they have been running north and south, and suddenly change east to west. This is so much the case that a practised eye, with some knowledge of the country, could almost lay out the principal 'hars' on the map without going to the village at all. In many villages the 'hars' are so distinct that the merest tyro could not miss them; in others, and especially in villages where there are jheels, they are much more difficult.—pp. 25-34.

Thus far as to the homogeneity of the village formation in Upper India and Russia. And I am inclined to think also, that, in the disposition of houses and opening of roads, a strong parallel would be found to exist between the villages of Bengal, those of Upper India, and even such ancient towns as Benares and Mathura; but I would not hazard a theory of my own on the subject in the absence of any records that I know of. I have travelled too little to say anything positive upon the subject.

I cannot, however, resist the temptation of intimating, that, in certain parts of India, the villages are said to be surrounded with walls, whereas in Allahabad, Mirzapur, and probably also in the surrounding country, we meet with extensive habitations, which are far too big and too irregular, to be called a single dwelling-house, and of which the external appearance may not be very remote from that of a walled village*. So again, in Orissa, I have been told the style of building cottages is like that of certain immigrants in the Sundarbans, of which the peculiarity consists in connecting all the separate huts into one block; whereas, the cottages of the true Bengal type, are disjointed and symmetrically arranged round one or more rectangular *uthans*. Lastly, these separate huts of Bengal have to be compared with our

* Since writing this paper I have met with an account of what is called "unitary home" in America, which presents some points of analogy. In fact, the communistic Societies of Bethel and Aurora, offer a curious resemblance to Hindu communism.—See Nordhoff's "Communist Societies of the United States."

quadrangular and comparatively extensive masonry houses. In passing from one to another of these different styles of architecture, one might note the characteristic features of communities governed by the Mitak'hara law both before and after partition of the village into smaller bodies; the features of those governed by the Dayabhag law with its increased tendencies towards partition, and the inclination of comparatively wealthy people in Bengal to revert to larger family communities resembling those of the Mitak'hara, not by means of testamentary provision for perpetuities, as elsewhere noticed, but by erecting large masonry houses with accommodation ample enough for generations of people and affording strong obstacles to partition.

I have hitherto been endeavouring to prove, I do not know with what success, that the constitution of village communities is not at variance with the Hindoo law of inheritance, the inference intended to be drawn therefrom being, that the family tie has been the basis of our social system. Mr. Elphinstone observes—

“The popular notion is that the village landholders are all descended from one or more individuals who first settled in the village; and that the only exceptions are formed by persons who have derived their rights by purchase or otherwise from members of the original stock—*Cowell's Edition*, pp. 71-72.

Mr. Mayne, however, in his valuable treatise on Hindu Law and Usage, takes exception to this view of the subject. He says—

§ 199. The co-sharers in many of these village communities are persons who are actually descended from a common ancestor. In many other cases they profess a common descent, for which there is probably no foundation. In some cases it is quite certain there can be no common descent, as they are of different castes or even of different religions. But it is well known that in India, the mere fact of association produces a belief in a common origin, unless there are circumstances which make such an identity plainly impossible.—(Edition of 1878, pp. 178-79.)

I have not been able to procure all the authorities cited in support of the above, but I find that the references to which I have had access do not fully bear out his opinion.

For instance, Sir H. S. Maine only says—

“Sometimes men of widely different castes, or Mahometans and Hindoos, are found united in the same village group; but in such cases its artificial structure is not disguised, and the sections of the community dwell in different parts of the inhabited area.”—*Edn. of 1871*, p. 176.

Elsewhere he observes—

Or they seem to be associations of kinsmen united by the assumption (doubtless very vaguely conceived) of a common lineage.”—*Ibid*, p. 175.

I do not contest the opinion that the common descent is conceived somewhat vaguely, but it is well known that Sir H. S. Maine's book does not cite many Indian authorities, though, of

course, his own may well count for a host of them. I am sure, however, that he would be the first man to take up the question how far, in any case, the practice has diverged from the Hindoo law, and from what cause, if he saw any possible connexion between the Gotra and village communities.

Another of Mr. Mayne's authorities, Mr. Lyall, proceeds upon *à priori* reasoning, saying, for instance: "It is impossible to suppose that all the members of a large clan are really descended from a common stock," or "a little reflection upon, and observation of, the constitution of the pure clans will convince one, &c." Ultimately, however, Mr. Lyall sums up as follows:—

Upon the evidence gathered it may not be too rash to hazard the theory that, in the conflux and consolidation of these groups, we can trace the working of the regular processes by which tribes and clans are first formed, and of the circumstances which favor and oppose growth. Let any cause drive together a collection of stray families which have been cut off from different stocks, the law of attraction groups them into a tribe, banded together by force of circumstances, by living in the same place, and in the same way; while the law of exogamy, or marriage outside kinship, immediately begins to work each family into a separate circle of affinity, and at the same time strings together, all these circles, upon the tribal bond of union, like rings on a curtain rod. If one of these circles has a great run of success, if the group happens to produce a man of remarkable luck and capacity, it may widen and develop to any extent and may become a clan.—(*Fortnightly Review*, January 1877, p. 107.)

Upon the whole, I gather from Mr. Lyall and Sir H. S. Maine what I consider supports rather than conflicts with the view I have ventured to put forward in my previous essay, that the Gotra was the original tribal community, which, under the operation of the law of exogamy, led to the virtual disinherison of the daughter, and to the Hindoo law of inheritance in general. Mr. Lyall distinctly alludes to the law of exogamy and thus confirms the position, that, even where any clan is reconstituted, the old restrictions upon marriage are rigidly adhered to. In other words, the *gotra* is never lost sight of. Now, where a community is thus formed of different gotras, it would of course be easy to cull many facts inconsistent with the theory of a common lineage. But in some cases, at least, I think it will be found, that, though the particular community appears to be formed upon a heterogeneous nucleus, this very heterogeneity points to homogeneity of an anterior date, since the traditions of the exclusiveness can only signify that a certain communal relation is missed. It should also be borne in mind that I do not contend that a Gotra is really what it pretends to be. Purity of birth is not a matter which can be established by historical evidence. It is enough that the people who allege a common lineage believe in it as a fact; and there can be no question that the Gotra is believed

to indicate a man's lineage. If, then, the village communities, as a rule, accept the notion of a common lineage, it certainly cannot be a far-fetched idea to hold that the members of the same gotra may have, in some past date, lived together as any village community of our own days.

An attempt to trace the social history of a time anterior to the formation of village communities, and that, too, in a country where historical records are almost unknown, may, I fear, provoke ridicule if not contempt. And I would not meddle with antiquarian researches of this description, but that certain vital questions of our own day seem to be connected with the subject. I would not, however, press the point more than to observe, that there is every probability of a Gotra community having once existed in the country and before the days of some of the most widely prevalent laws in our society. We have seen how, in certain village communities, the ownership of land conflicts with the law of inheritance, which, in other respects, is universally upheld in this country. We have seen that the exceptional cases accord with principles of communal life which are of very wide prevalence out of India. We have seen also (in a previous paper) that this Indian law of inheritance has, in course of time, undergone several important modifications. It would then seem, that, while the theory of a Gotra community is likely to establish a more perfect homogeneity as regards the primitive Eastern society both in and out of India, that of the evolution of the Hindu law will go to account for the distinctive features of Indian society, in all its varied phases, and to prove besides, that the people who have left such marvellous records of their intellectual eminence, were not wanting in a benignant love for their posterity, or in suitable practical talents to construct the society which has lasted down to this day. And we may thus come, in fact, to obtain a faint glimpse of a probable historical connection between the communism of Russia and Germany, of Lassalle and Karl Marx, on the one hand, and on the other, the communism of our own society,—a communism which has become so much like the atmosphere we breathe, that it is my own countrymen who are most incredulous even about the logical identity of the two social phenomena.

Turning next to the character of Gotra communities, I do not contend that the Gotra tie really proves an actual blood relation. On the contrary, I would endorse Mr. Lyall's view, that at some stage or other of a clan's existence, a common lineage was assumed, and as Sir H. S. Maine says, formed into a more or less vague conception. We know, besides, that members of the same Gotra are to be found in such different castes, as Dwijas

and Sudras ; and we know, too, that the argument which seeks to explain away the obvious inference of a common lineage between Brahmans and Sudras is not borne out by facts, and that, worse still, it overlooks the difficulty about Kshettryas and Vaisyas being placed in the same category with Sudras. The Gotra community, therefore, must, if at all, have existed before the existing relations between the castes grew up in India.

On the other hand, the Gotra relation does not seem to be made so much of in the village communities of other parts of the world, although the tribal tie is as universal as it is primitive, and some crude forms of caste division, too, are traceable in the ancient history of other countries. Is it not possible, therefore, that the vaguely-conceived notion of a tribal head crystallised in India into the more perfectly conceived Gotra relation by the very fact of the family tie having been laid hold of to regulate the Hindu law of inheritance and modify the communal principle of succession by survivorship ?

Be that as it may, it is upon these considerations that I hold that a system of communal government is traceable wherever the Gotra tie or the Hindu law of inheritance is found to exist. But before we enter upon a narrower examination of the village system of Bengal, I must clear my way by showing that the zamindari system of Bengal is essentially identical with that which forms part of the village communities of Upper India. Mr. Harington, it is true, denied the existence of the little village republics here, and justified the Decennial Settlement of Bengal upon that ground.* And I confess that it is not easy to recognise that the account given by Elphinstone has anything to do with our every day life in Hindu society. Much less, perhaps, could it be seen that the fancy for oratory which has of late come into vogue in Calcutta, has had its real prototype in the acrimonious debates of our village *Dala dali* which are but too well known to most Bengalis.

I quote again from Mr. Thomason's Azimgurh Report :—

" Para 60th. In a community it must always happen that there are some members of superior intelligence or wealth who obtain a preponderance in the brotherhood. Where so much respect is attached to hereditary right, this influence often descends from father to son, although the descendant may not be distinguished by personal worth. The engagements with Government run in the names of these individuals who are commonly styled Lumberdars, (i. e., bearing the number in the Government Registers.)

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" The hereditary right of the managers had not become established, and it had been usual on re-settlement of the estate to alter the name of the

* See extracts from Harington's Office of Superintendent of Government Analysis of the Bengal Regulations. ment Printing, 1866, page 200.

manager, and sometimes to increase the number of managers. In the present settlement the question has been set at rest by the filing of an agreement entered into by the whole of the village community declaring the office to be elective, not hereditary, and the incumbent to be liable to be ousted by the voices of the majority of the Puttee or Thoke he might represent, on proved mismanagement."—(N.-W. P. Settlement Reports, Vol. 1, p. 25.)

Mr. Thomason was particularly anxious, as he somewhere says, to avoid the errors committed in Bengal. He certainly does not seem to lay much stress upon the loss of revenue caused by the Permanent Settlement, nor does he declare that the Government ought to get every pice of what is obtained by the Zamindar from the rayat. No settlement officer, nor for the matter of that any Bengali Deputy Collector either, appears to be conscious that in the struggle for enhancement of rent the rayat has better opportunities of protection when he is confronted before the British judge with the native zamindar than when he ventures to elude the grip of a Government functionary, who entertains dispositions similar to that of the Zamindar. Mr. Thomason, probably supposes that the Permanent Settlement taker of Bengal defrauded his brotherhood, and he seems therefore to have taken care to put down the names of all co-sharers in a cleverly worded agreement. So the Hindu law of joint-families and inheritance goes for nothing, and a deed of partnership is held to be the panacea for Indian perversity. We have seen how the zamindars of Bengal have had their *hudas* without a settlement officer to help them. And after all, it may have been pardonable in those who did not perceive the communal character of the Bengal zamindars to have supposed that our village society was grievously injured by the Permanent Settlement. For another fact seems to have largely contributed to the misconception. The village life of our small communities comprises an agricultural and a governmental element. The family *karta* has not only the same avocations as the rest of the joint-family, but is the governor, the patriarch, or the Khozain over the small society which he helps to keep together.

And the Bengal Zamindar, as the *karta* of his family, was as good an authority as many a Lumberdar of the North-Western Provinces over his brotherhood living in coparcenary. But the Bengal Zamindar in most cases had no *sir* or *nij-jot* lands like his up-country brethren, and thus his agricultural function was completely lost in his governmental one. And hence the theory of Bengal being devoid of village communities, has been propped up by a second assumption, that the Bengal Zamindar was only an officer of Government.

Not only, however, has the up-country Lumberdar an authority over his coparceners, but they all jointly hold certain relations with their *asamis*. And the position of the Bengal Zamindar is in these respects identical with that of the Lumberdar. But the antipathy for Lord Cornwallis' favorites became dangerous to the interests of such zamindars of the North-Western Provinces as, under the name Talookdar, were indistinguishable from the zamindars of Bengali society. The following extracts will not only prove the parallel between the Bengal Zamindar and the up-country Talookdar, but will show how deeply cherished is the governmental relation between the people and their supreme landlord:—

"Para 51. Talookahs are not always held by an individual, but they frequently are held either by one person or by a few living together, and exercising their rights as one. Any collection of villages held together, either by one person or by many, is in the common usage of the district called a Talookah; but I employ it here in the more restricted sense in which it is generally received in the Western Provinces, as meaning a collection of villages, each having a separate community of its own, which by some act of the ruling power had been assigned to an individual who was to collect the revenue from them and pay over a certain portion of it to the Government."—(N.-W. P. Settlement Reports, p. 22.)

Mr. Elliot writes:—

"47. Indeed, it is a matter of astonishment that, notwithstanding the vicinity of Meerut to the scene of perpetual revolutions and anarchy, almost all the landed proprietors trace their descent from periods long antecedent to these very revolutions. The chourassees (or 84 villages equivalent to the Saxon hundreds) which are mentioned in Tod's Rajasthan, may be considered to exist in almost their pristine integrity amongst the Rajpoot and Jât communities: and the sub-divisions into 42 and 12 villages are still more frequent. The head man of the chief villages in these communities is still looked up to as a superior, to whom all others of the clan owe allegiance, and are scarcely considered to be endued with the responsibility and consequence of zamindars, until he has presided at the ceremony of binding on their Turbans and pronounced the investiture to have been duly performed. The proposal to admit these Zillahdars and Choudries (as they are called) to collect from their respective divisions, while an individual settlement might be formed with the subordinate villages included in them, is worthy of deliberation, as being calculated to raise a highly respectable class amongst the landholders, which might eventually prove of great service to Government, at the same time that the introduction of the measure would be regarded with gratification, as it would revive an old and cherished institution."—(N.-W. P. Settlement Reports, p. 191.)

It is hardly necessary to mention that I look upon these Zillahdars as identical with Talookdars. The truth is that the Indian village is neither confined to the limits of the *mouzah* previously described, nor even to a single homogeneous body occupying any local unit that we may fix upon. Their industrial and governmental functions, too, have diverged as their

constitution has undergone large development. So that everywhere we see little organised groups, each connected by a certain tie with a second group living next to it, and by another tie, which may be more or less intimate, with a third, a fourth, or a fifth group, residing in tracts more or less distant and scattered. These distinct communities, however, may be divided into two main sections, chiefs and rayats, and the chiefs may be sub-divided into talookdars and zamindars, and the rayats into superior and inferior rayats, whatever their respective local names may be, but the differentiation as regards industrial and governmental functions between the different branches of industry and between the different organs of government has become confused and complicated by both normal and revolutionary changes which are still going on.

Sir H. S. Maine observes :—

“ But the most interesting division of the community, though the one which creates most practical difficulty, may be described as a division into several parallel social strata. There are first, a certain number of families who are traditionally said to be descended from the founder of the village ; * * * Below these families, descended from the originators of the colony, there are others, distributed into well ascertained groups. The brotherhood, in fact, forms a sort of hierarchy, the degrees of which are determined by the order in which the various sets of families were amalgamated with the community.”—(Village Committees, pp. 176-77.)

But the learned author then enters into a discussion of the rent question, overlooking as I conceive it, the governmental relation between the several strata, as he happily terms the classes of society. This governmental relation is, in fact, a necessary outgrowth of all society, and, howsoever adjusted, it must, so far as India is concerned, have been the source of the extraordinary vitality of our social constitution. In India, the political constitution is neither autocratic, nor democratic, but a caste-governed one. This is not to be disputed. We may therefore reasonably look in the village communities, for the germs from which alone caste must have been ultimately developed. The proprietary body naturally evolved out of itself a Talookdar or a Raja. The functions of a Talookdar are partly, what in modern language would be called official, that is subordinate to the sovereign, and partly those of a chief, or proprietor, above his subordinates or tenants. The differentiation into functions in respect of the land, and those in respect of the men concerned with land, however rational, is one of modern growth, and these elements of social life have had to be discriminated in Europe after a considerable sacrifice of human life. There is, therefore, nothing so awfully preposterous, as some are apt to think, in the claim of the Zamindars, Talookdars and Rajas of India to rights in respect of their lands as well as their tenants. The King, or Emperor, or

whoever might be at the top of the list was as much a lord over all the land, and the servant of all his subjects as was the Talookdar or Zamindar, each in respect of his own prescribed province and rayats. But the British Government, anxious to discover only a monetary relation, and having done its best in extirpating the authority of the old head men called Talookdars and Rajahs, has got up the monstrous hybrid of a Lumberdar. In Bengal, Lord Cornwallis took away the official functions of the Zamindar and strengthened his proprietary functions by the Permanent Settlement; though now, of course, the times being altered, we have the pleasure of being told that our zamindars were neither fish nor fowl, that is to say, that society had been administered in these provinces, in spite of caste and joint-families, by communities of *chasha* rayats occasionally tyrannised over by a parvenu. Be that as it may, as in the N.-W. P., the zamindars had a centralised authority in the Talookdar. So again the lower section of rayats have had their head man under such names as *Mandal*, *Mokaddem*, &c. Between all these people, *viz.* the Raja, the Talookdar, the Zamindar, the Mandal, the Sha-praja, and the Krofa rayat, there is certainly a fiscal relation, for society cannot be administered without funds. But that relation has never been what the greed of the conqueror, Mahomedan and English, has always sought to establish—the only one subsisting between the parties. The autonomy of the proprietary body is virtually recognised by the term applied to their society—republic. But the importance of the Mandal is now pushed forward into greater prominence than the authority of the Talookdar. The object, however, does not seem to be to advance the social status of the rayat community at the expense of that of the sovereign, but only to cut off the powers of the Talookdar and the Zamindar, so as to fortify that of the sovereign by leaving an extensive glacis or esplanade around it. In wading through the mass of scientifically prepared evidence termed Settlement Reports, which Sir H. S. Maine has wisely abstained from citing in his books, I have received the impression that, just as in some cases, the Talookdars have been coolly disposed of, so probably in many others the Mokaddem has been honored with the rights and authority of the Lumberdar. I do not cite any authorities, but give my impression for whatever it may be worth. I am not concerned to show the hardship and injustice of the settlement operations of Upper India, as compared with the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, that is patent to any body who cares to look beneath the surface. My concern in regard to the sociological questions which we are considering, is only with the universally admitted relations between the two main strata, the chiefs and rayats.

In the first place it should be observed that the rayats are not conquered subjects or slaves, settled upon the land by military chiefs. They are immigrants, free to settle as well as to abscond, as every Indian land-owner knows to his cost. They are often composed of many castes, each caste disclosing specific social ties of its own. The relation between the chief and rayat, even in so far as it is agricultural, does not quite exempt the higher castes from the inferior position. *Brahmans* and *Kayeths* are as often rayats as any *chashas*. But that does not necessarily signify that the former perform any menial labor. And, in general, the rayats of an inferior order, the *Krofas*, or *Pahis*, as they are variously called, are employed by the superior castes for this purpose. Of the superior class of rayats, Mr. Moens records :—

“The chupurbunds, besides rent are bound by village custom to render service and fees to the Zemindar according to their caste. The services are not the same in all villages, but these are the general rule of the district ”—

“(1.) *Sahel*.—Each cultivator is bound to give the Zamindar, when summoned, one day's free ploughing in the *sir* land with his own plough and oxen. . . . From this service *Brahmans*, *Kayeths* and *Thakurs* are generally exempted.

“(2.) *Oogahi*. * * * They are always taken where rents are paid in kind No caste is exempt as a rule. Occasionally *Brahmans*, *Thakurs* and *Kayeths* are exempted as a favor, though not by right * * * *

In some villages, the village is collectively bound to supply thatching grass. [Note how even the rayats are here given a corporate character] * * *

Muraos are generally bound to give *tarkari* (vegetables for the table) free, sometimes the amount is fixed. * * * The *Gadariya* (shepherd) gives one blanket in the year.

“(3) *Begar*.—*Begar* is almost universal, each caste giving a certain amount of labor.

The *Chamars* (the caste who handle and deal in skins and hides) grind corn daily for the Zamindar, Patwari or Karinda, as long as they are in the village [Other kinds of work are also mentioned for this class]. *Dhoonas* and *Joolahas* (their business is connected with cotton) work for nothing when required, but get *chabena*. The *Dhobi* (washerman) washes for the Zamindar's family free. The *Telis* supply all the oil. The *Burhai* (carpenter) cuts wood for him when required. The *Hujjam* (barber) shaves him for nothing. The *Kahar* and *Dhimar* carry loads.”—(Moens' Bareilly Report, pp. 108-9.)

All these people, however, receive certain grain allowances, which it may be allowed are in return for their work ; though it is somewhat harder to decide who is their real paymaster.

I quote again from the same Report :—

“When the grain has been dressed and prepared, the first deduction from the heap in the pergunnahs where rent is paid in kind, is for the *Choongi huqs*. The amount of deduction varies according to local custom, and its distribution also varies.”

The following classes of recipients, or payments, are enumerated :—

“Kootwar, Mali, Kahar, Sweeper, Kheraputti, Joshi (astrologer), Chamar, Weighman, Bawarchikhana.

Also :—

“*Burhai*, or carpenter * * * the *Lohar*, or blacksmith, * * the Chowkidar, * * the *Nyee* or barber, * * *Dhobi*, *Putwari*.

And finally we have this important item :—

“Besides this, the Guru or Pandit (the priest and schoolmaster in fact) have to get their dues.”—(Bareilly Report, pp. 78-80.)

The above long extract will put the reader in mind of Mr. Elphinstone's account of the officers of an Indian township. He recounts a few and says, “the number varies in different villages, and the officers included are not always the same.” So that the chakeran lands of Bengal will furnish an additional point of contact between the village system of Bengal and Upper India.

Let us next turn for one moment to the Russian *corvée* or labor dues. We read in Mr. Wallace's lucid account :—

“The amount of the labor dues was determined in this way. The *tyaglo* or labor-unit was composed of a man, a woman, and a horse; and each *tyaglo* owed to the proprietor three days' labor every week. If a household contained two *tyaglo*” (they have got some thing very like our joint-family system in Russia) “one of them might work for the proprietor six days in the week, and thereby liberate the other from its obligation. In this way one-half of a large family could labor constantly for the household, whilst the other half fulfilled all the obligations towards the proprietor. The other dues consisted of lambs, chickens, eggs, and linen cloth, together with a certain sum of money which was contributed by those peasants who were allowed to go away and work in the towns.”—(Wallace's Russia, 4th Ed. Vol. I., p 165.)

Is it too much after this to suggest that the *adha bhag* of India, and porbably also the metayer rents of Europe, were commuted from labor dues? Be that as it may, the *Begar* service prevailing both in India and Russia, and for the matter of that in Java also, is, I think, sufficient evidence to warrant the inference that the relation between the chief and rayats is probably anterior to the promulgation of the Hindu law, which so powerfully modified the communal society of India. In other words, I think we can trace here the primitive relation between Dwijas and Sudras, or patricians and plebeians. But the serfs of Russia were always bound to render military service, just as was the case with the plebeians of Rome. Mr. Laveleye writes, “the commune is jointly responsible to the lord for his rent and to the State for *taxes and recruits in proportion to its population*” (p. 8). In India, not only have the Sudras been for ever exempted

from military service, but until, I believe, the passing of Act XX of 1856, or a few years before that, the rents paid to the Zemindar by the rayat fully exonerated the latter from any further burden of taxation.

In comparing the village society of Upper India with what I suppose is its analogue in Bengal, we are bound to recognise some well known facts as causes of what difference, I admit, does apparently subsist between them. The superior fertility of soil in Bengal must have largely contributed, by reason of an accelerated growth of population, to swallow up the *khamar*, and even the *nijjot* lands of the proprietary body, into what forms the rayati lands of the village, especially when the difference between the laws of inheritance prevailing in the two provinces was calculated to push forward the process; the ultimate result being that the agricultural functions of that body have virtually ceased in Bengal.

Under the Mitak'hara law partition is a tedious and undesirable process, but in regard to the *sir* lands, it is, after a time, at least, a most imperative one. It deprives the separated brothers of their rights of survivorship in respect of one another; and, as between father and son, it entails much hardship upon the former and his after-born sons. When, again, the separated father dies, it is said to be, according to the shasters at least, an open question, whether repartition of the entire property should not be called for. But, on the other hand, the *sir* lands at a certain stage of society could not be cultivated by many proprietors, unless there was a plot definitely assigned to each. Under the communal system of partition each male member of full age would be entitled to an equal share of the lands, and no objection would be raised if a family of four brothers got four times as much as one composed of one man and half a dozen infants; for it was known that a subsequent repartition would restore matters to their normal condition. But the law of inheritance points only to one kind of partition, *viz.*, according to ancestral shares, and the result has been that the tenure in land remains what is called a zamindari for a number of generations, and is then converted by partition into a Pattidari, each coparcener getting a Patti according to his ancestral share. The Pattis again become each a zamindari in subsequent generations, but are seldom, if ever reunited, to form a zamindari as of old. The most fertile cause of disruption is, I believe, a sale or mortgage, since what evil of the kind was apprehended from inheritance of the widow, the daughter and her son, was prevented by the rule of succession by survivorship. These sales and mortgages, however, were in all probability less frequent under the Hindu,

than under the Mahomedan, government. With the English the question has of course very naturally got mixed up with the doctrine of free-trade. Thus partition, though allowed by the Hindu law, must have been of rare occurrence. And the Bhaia-chara tenure, with its irregular partition, seems to have positively resisted the encroachment of the Hindu law; while the recognition of the law of pre-emption in Upper India has helped to keep alive the ancient communism of that part of the country.

In Bengal there is no escape from succession by inheritance, as under the rule of survivorship, and the alien elements, viz., the daughter and her son, succeed, whether, or not, there has been a partition previously made. Hence a powerful motive to put off separation between the members is absent. It is only when the widow succeeds, that the surviving members become alarmed about division and the consequent waste of property by irresponsible advisers. The *parda neshin* lady in India is socially, though not legally, under a disqualification, akin to that of a minor. But, when the reversioners belong to the daughter's line, no such desire is excited on the part of the brotherhood to prevent a disruption of the family. Although, however, partition in the form of division of shares thus becomes easy enough under the Dayabhag law, yet partition of the lands themselves does not become half so imperative as where they have *sir* lands to lot off for cultivation between the proprietors. And this circumstance requires the zamindars of Bengal to be prepared for all contingencies. All their lands being let out to tenants, the proceeds may be consumed upon the communal principle common all over India, if a joint-family society is preferred. But if a disruption occurs, the rent paid by the tenants may be divided according to well-known ancestral shares, either by the proprietary body, after collection, or by the tenants themselves before collection, i.e., when even a joint collection cannot be maintained. If they had any *nijjot* lands to divide, or if a separation required an actual partition of the *khamar* lands, the process, hard as it is, would be extended to rayati lands as well, the slightly increased trouble being counterbalanced by the consequent gain in respect of the governmental relation between zemindar and rayat. These facts have an important bearing upon the relative independence of the Bengal rayats as compared with those of Upper India.

I do not know how long this has been the condition of things in Bengal, but the following passage in the *Ayin Akberi* seems to render it likely that it has had nothing to do with the Permanent Settlement, or the British Administration of Bengal.

The subjects are very obedient to Government, and pay their annual

rents in eight months by instalments, bringing mohûrs and rupees to the place, appointed for the receipt of the revenues, it not being customary in this suba for the husbandman and Government to divide the crops. Grain is always cheap and the produce of the land is determined by Nussuk (estimate). His majesty has had the goodness to confirm those customs.—(Gladwin, London, Ed. 1800, p. 6.)

Lest the above should lead to the inference that there were no zemindars at all, I subjoin the following:—

“The suba of Bengal consists of 24 sircars, the revenue is 59,84,59, 319 dams or sicca Rs. 1,49,61,482-15-2 in money; and the zemindars who are mostly Koits (Kayeths) furnish also 23,330 cavalry; 801,158 infantry, 170 elephants, 4,260 cannon and 4,400 boats.”—(*Ibid*, Ed., p. 16.)

If the zemindars had had much nij-jot land, part of the revenue at least, would have been payable in kind. It may thus be inferred that from long before the Permanent Settlement the agricultural function had passed out of the hands of the Bengal zamindars.

It is hard to say whether, and if so, how far, the peculiar circumstances of Bengal alluded to above have been caused by the law of Dayabhag, or whether they have not led to the modifications of the Dayabhag itself upon the earlier and more widely prevalent system of the Mitak'hara school. But certain it is that the peculiarities in question deeply affect the requirements of the Batwara law in Bengal, requirements which seem not to be sufficiently understood by the authorities here.

The facility of separation serves also to modify the relation between the Karta and his subordinates, inasmuch as, on the one hand, the loyalty of the latter is divided between a natural guardian and the communal head of the joint-family, and, on the other, the kind devotion of the Karta receives, in consequence, a shock of jealousy in regard to the rival guardian thus evolved. Hence it has been that under the Dayabhaga law the communal relations generally break off in the third or second generation, counting from the founder of the family. Add to this the facilities offered by British courts to secure separate enjoyment of communal property, and it will be easy to conceive why and how the village communities of Bengal, though radically identical, are apparently so dissimilar from those of Upper India. For although the Hindu law, and especially the Dayabhag, is the real cause of disruption, there has always existed a social opinion supporting the communal rather than an individual system, if I may so call it. Where, for instance, the law would allow a separation, social opinion, until the recent complete absorption of judicial functions by British courts, might compel a refractory member to comport with the communal system against his wishes. A Karta, tired of a

dissolute subordinate, might thus find himself supported in requiring the latter either to give up his vicious habits or to forfeit his ancestral share. A selfish subordinate might, by the same moral pressure, be required to share his superfluities with a lot of famished but blameless members. All these resources are now at an end in Bengal; though I should guess from the loyal relations between the Karta and his subordinates in Upper India, that our new fangled ideas have not yet quite penetrated there. The result is, that the little village republics which are such an interesting study elsewhere, are of no consequence in Bengal as regards its revenue administration under Great Britain.

The village has been shown to consist of several strata of society. Among these there are points of variation as between one another, and also as regards the same stratum in different parts of the country. The proprietary body, for instance, as has been shown, have undergone important changes by reason of facilities of partition and virtual absence of nijjot cultivation. Immigration is another cause which, in Upper India, appears to have especially affected the rayat community, whereas in Bengal it has operated upon both the superior and inferior strata alluded to above.

The importance of the family tie in Hindu social economy, and some other circumstances, have always tended to attract to particular centres relatives who might previously have been scattered over the country at large. Such immigrants have found admittance in some cases—as purchasers, or grantees, of Lakhiraj, or Miras, and have ultimately risen to equality with, or even superiority over, their peers of the same caste. Moreover, men have often virtually cut themselves off from their blood relations—(Gnati) or brotherhood, and settled in villages where they or their fathers had married. In other words, viewing this matter from our main standpoint, we find that, while the Hindu law of exogamy tended to cast out the daughters from the village, and that of inheritance led to their virtual disinherison, there have been some cases in which a like effect has occurred in regard to the son. In other words, the daughter and her son have kept to the village, and the immigrant son-in-law has found a shelter by reason of his marriage. Under the more compact society of the Mitak'hara school, this process becomes comparatively difficult, and is therefore rare in the case of the proprietary body, for the requisite land for the dwelling house, at least, has in that case to be secured from a more numerous body of people and one less intimately related to the applicant than is the case in Bengal with its Dayabhag law. But, as regards the rayats, the process has been

easy enough both in Upper India and in Bengal. In the latter case the question of communism does not run counter to that of land tenures, and proximity to the residence of a friend or relative is sufficient to attract a fellow rayat. And, as they all hold land upon equal terms, there is generally little or no likelihood of any difference arising in this respect between brother zemindars if there are more than one of these. Hence, where land is available, and in such cases the terms of lease are necessarily fair enough, immigration is not only free, but serves to form communities of immigrants among the lower strata. Furthermore, whatever the case may have been before the spread of the caste system, there is no question, that since then the immigrants would, owing to their caste feelings, be grouped according to their respective castes, and thus compose several communities, all equally subordinate to the proprietary community. Following, however, the same line of argument, we might carry ourselves back in imagination to a remote antiquity and conceive that in the Gotra communities they had somewhat the same sort of social strata as we now behold. We know, for instance, that they had among the proprietary body of Dwijas not only the cultivating holders of the sir—*viz.*, the original Vaisyas, but also the analogues of the modern Gurus and purohīts of the village, and a body of armed people, possibly akin to the *gundas* of Upper India. But we can conceive from analogy that they had a subordinate stratum of immigrants, grouped upon the model of their superiors according to their occupation, all passing by the common name of Sudra and owing begar service to the Dwijas. These inferior groups of immigrants might well adopt the Gotra names of the proprietary community, although there was no common lineage between them, and, the same law of Gotra exogamy being enforced upon them, they might naturally be organised in the same way as the several classes of Dwijas, and thus acquire the autonomous character peculiar to all our village communities.

To return to modern times, the village community, whether of rayats or zamindars, comprises in each stratum blood relations (Gnatis), relations by marriage (kutumba), and members of the same caste, *i. e.*, those with whom marriage is permissible under the caste system. And a community like this has not only the organisation which is confined to the small area of a village, but one of a much larger description, many such village communities forming what is called a *Samaj* or *Sreni*. And this larger society also is composed of the three classes of relations: (1) Gnatis; (2) Kutumbas, actual, and (3) Kutumbas, prospective. Its ultimate unit is of course the undivided family, members of which compose primarily the village, or the village *dal*, and secondarily, the

Samaj. The members of each *Samaj* would, under the caste rule of inter-marriage, have the same caste occupation, though that is no longer imperative. But in so far as restrictions have been imposed upon any *samajes* in regard to inter-marriage, they are as distinct as different castes. The history of this process of division, from caste into *samajes*, is of course not to be found, but the forces which we know to be often at work in causing disruption of the village and family communities, may likewise have caused in the past disruption of the caste. No doubt the institution of caste originally extended itself partly by the centralised action of government, and partly by spontaneous imitation. But it is easy to conceive that after a time the elements of discord still observable may have led to a separation like that of the village *dals*, and that eventually the different sections of the caste developed into distinct *samajes*. In other words, the simple processes of differentiation and integration may have served to form caste communities, *samajes*, and family communities, out of the primitive village or Gotra community.

Turning next to the internal organisation of the villages, we must consider other matters affecting the admission of an immigrant, besides acquisition of a site for his dwelling house. These matters may be looked upon as regulating what may be called the village franchise. Here I should premise that as regards Upper India my information is necessarily defective, and that I infer a homogeneity only from the general similarity of social customs and the parallel previously set forth, between it and Bengal. Village-franchise, according to native ideas, amounts to a right to mess with one's peers. This, however, is subject to rules of intermarriage, which consequently connect franchise with caste. So long, however, as a man or his wife is not permitted to mess with the rest of the community at his own place, or at that of any of them, the family remains outside the communal circle as it is now constituted. A man may become a fellow resident of the same village part of which he may have purchased at auction (now-a-days even shares of the same house may be knocked down to strangers), and yet continue to be almost an excrescence in the society. The mess franchise comprises two grades, having reference to the class of food taken: for the sake of convenience I would call them first and second class franchise. Those who hold the former, eat of *bhat* and *roti*, with suitable accompaniments, cooked or touched by each other; whereas, second class franchise is confined to partaking only of *puri*, *chira*, *dahi*, &c. We might even descend a step lower and mention a third grade, having reference only to drinking water. The three grades of franchise signify a further inequality, in that some whose

communal relations are not of the closest, may entertain others with *bhat* or *roti*, i.e., first class food, but may not take from them any thing beyond *puri* or water as the case may be.

The acquisition of a certain grade of franchise, and the admission to a certain stratum of village society, necessarily carries with it privileges not only in respect of members of the same stratum, but also as regards superior or inferior ones. Thus, for instance, an immigrant Brahman desiring to secure the village franchise must obtain the consent of his fellow-caste men in the village to let him dine with them and to come to dinner at his place. This position being attained he enjoys all the privileges of the Brahman community, as regards both his peers and his subordinates.

Not only, for instance, would it be incumbent upon all other Brahmans of the village to invite him along with his neighbours of the same community, but even the inferior orders would have to give him the same *samajik*, or presents, which are given to his peers. He would also have the right to insist that his peers should not accept the invitation of so-and-so until a point raised by himself was settled. It may so happen that a Brahman is admitted only to second-class franchise in respect of the Brahman community in the village. In that case he would have no right to insist upon a peer taking what may be called a first-class dinner at his place. But nevertheless as regards the inferior orders, he would have equal or nearly equal privileges with his peers. Members of different samajes, e. g., a *rarhi* and a *Barendro*, may be admitted to second-class franchise as between one another, but hardly ever to a first class one. But they cannot intermarry.

The closest relation exists between *gnatis*, or blood relations, and this seems to point to some historical connexion between the messing relation of village communities and the commensality of family communities. How the one gradually shades off into the other, it would take too long to describe. And I must leave it to others to consider whether or not a logical connexion is traceable between the two. Among *kutumbas*, however, the relation is less intimate. One of the most important formalities of a marriage is the admission of the bride to first class franchise; the ceremony observed (*paksparsa*) being her touching the food served to her husband's *gnatis*. The bridegroom is of course admitted to first class franchise in the father-in-law's family, both by the marriage and the dinner which immediately follows. But the relation may be easily broken off. And the messing relations between the bride's father and the father of the bridegroom are not always necessarily of the first class type. Hence it would seem, after all, that intermarriage has not become yet an essential condition of village franchise.

Indeed, the first coming of the bridegroom into the village where he is going to marry, seems to accord more with the aggressiveness characteristic of the primitive marriage by capture, than with the joyful accompaniments which now form such an important feature of the proceeding. This primitive form of marriage alluded to, I mean the Rakshasa marriage of the Hindu law, is supposed to have had an intimate connexion with the law of Gotra exogamy. But one curious evidence of the village system is noticeable here, *viz.*, that the bridegroom's guardian has to make several donations to the village community, one to the male portion under the name *grambheti* (of which part, again, is in certain cases due to the Zamindar), and another to the wives of the village community who attend the wedding chamber and amuse the bridegroom with their conversation. To return to the messing relation ; it would thus seem that persons otherwise intimately related may not possess the first class franchise in each other's society. Moreover, it may be fairly supposed that if a Gotra endogamy was allowed at any time, the village franchise would not then admit of any diversity as between *gnatis* and *kutumbas* ; but when the law of Gotra exogamy led to men of different villages, different tribes, in fact, dining with each other, the first class franchise would seem to have been withheld under some rules.

The foregoing account will show that somehow or other marriage and our village franchise got connected as social institutions of the Hindus. And this impression will be further strengthened when we consider the question of loss of franchise. This comes by way of punishment, and at the first instance comprises a loss at once of the second and first class rights. But the highest punishment takes the form of deprivation of even the third class franchise, and carries with it a prohibition from intermarriage. This prohibition cannot for obvious reasons extend beyond the *Samaj* ; but, as all samajes are constituted upon the common basis of the Hindu, it is often impracticable for one samaj to take by hand the castaways of another. This is called loss of caste, and the motive is not unfrequently confounded with religious fanaticism by those who do not fully understand our social affairs. It is certainly connected with religion : the Hindu joint-family system signifies not only joint estate and joint mess, but also joint *worship*. Hence the village community may not overlook a renunciation of the communal church if I may so call it. But every body knows that a conversion from *Baktism* into *Vaishnavism* does not entail the same consequences as one into Mahomedanism or Christianity, so that, after all, it seems to be the acceptance of a foreign franchise (according to native ideas), the fellowship with outsiders, especially at mess, and the disregard thus shown to the social

hierarchy of the Hindus, which are so strongly resented by them. It is, in fact, the village autonomy standing out against foreign encroachment. The question thus seems to be one of politics rather than of religion, for all the criticism to which the custom has been subjected.

The village communities of Bengal, or rather the *samajes*, have generally each a head man, called the *Goshthipati*: and sometimes there is a second, called *Naib-Goshthipati*. The minor heads of villages go by the name *Dalapati*. In some cases, however, the central authority alluded to does not exist, and the constitution becomes in this respect freer than democracy itself. But it is significant that the absence even of a provisional president, or chairman, does not lead to anarchy. Whether the *Goshthipati* had, as a rule, any zamindari rights I have not been able to trace, but in several cases the *Goshthipatis* have borne, and in hereditary succession, too, the title of Raja. It is recognised only by the people of the Samaj, though not by what is called the "public" in public papers. I have just now in my mind only two cases, but I am sure many others of the kind might be collected. I allude to the *Goshthipatis* of the Jasar samaj in the 24-Pergunnahs and to that of Bakla in Bakarganj, supposed by some to be identical with Bangla, or Bangal. In some cases the office of the *Goshthipati* has been known to change hands, the action taken being analogous to election, without, however, denoting anything like definite deposal.

On solemn occasions called *mala chandan*, the *Goshthipati* is invested with *chandan* or *tika*, and a garland of flowers (*mala*). These are obviously emblems of royalty and seem to point to a social system which combined both proprietary and political supremacy; and the revolution in respect of the *Goshthipati*, as alluded to above, may for aught we know, have become practicable only since the recent changes have been brought about in the land-tenures of the country. The autonomous community described above have exercised all sorts of functions—judicial, fiscal, as well as political—some of which, as every body knows, have been seized or surrendered at the time of the Permanent Settlement. The village panchayet seems to be a remnant of the old order of things. But it is chiefly, if not exclusively, in the matter of franchise that the communal rights are now exercised. The British Government having thus gradually absorbed all the essential functions of the village community, the utility of the franchise has become problematical, and the contest for the grant or withdrawal of the privileges not unnaturally provokes the ridicule of those whose ideas have been moulded by the existing order of things. Of the various internal affairs, that is as distinguished from what may be called the external affairs relating to the payment of land-revenue and other

like questions concerning village communities, I would notice only the following : (1) Administration of justice ; (2) Formation of compacts for industrial or other purposes ; (3) Raising of subscriptions, and (4) The penal remedies available to enforce their ordinances. It will be convenient to take up the last first of all, since upon it depends the efficacy of communal activity in all other matters. This penal remedy, it is true, does not seem to be any thing more formidable than exclusion from certain dinners. But a further advance in the same direction may entail with it prohibition from intermarriage against all the members of the joint-family to which the offender belongs. These dinners ought, therefore, I repeat, to be regarded rather as questions of village politics than occasions for social or personal enjoyment. And I imagine some analogy may be looked for in the rules of guilds and crafts, and some, too, may be traced in the masonic dinners as well as in those which are essential to enrolment in the British inns of court. If we might venture to pry into the mysteries of religion, the Eucharist itself could be named by way of illustration. And we may take note that among the Essenes the probationer was not allowed to touch this common food for three years, and that he who was separated from their body often died after a miserable manner. Bound by his oath and customs, he was not at liberty to partake of food that he met with elsewhere, but was forced to eat grass and to famish his body with hunger till he was at his last gasp, when he might be received again. (*Wars of the Jews*, B. II., Ch. VIII).

The formalities which accompany our communal dinner leave no doubt in my mind, that for all the festivities of the occasion there is a deeper purpose than is visible at first sight, namely, the conservation of a stronger bond of union than is ordinarily conveyed by the word social, between the host and his guests, and between all the people assembled comprising the guests, the host and his family.

The exclusion from these dinners may well be compared with exclusion from any English club. But the singularity in our case is, that marriage restrictions being connected with them, the efficacy and scope of the means employed become vastly out of proportion to the apparent magnitude of the means itself. There was, indeed, a time (and occasionally it is the case even now) when pecuniary fines were inflicted by the community quite as much as by a Zamindar. But in the latter case they have to be backed by the Zamindar's peons, whereas the community was strong enough to dispense with all such assistance : fines with it were only a lighter punishment, which might not be disregarded for fear of exclusion from communal mess, and eventually from intermarriage.

Hence, too, I think the penalty in question must be classed as a moral rather than as a physical one; those who regard it, and several other cognate matters in a different light, seem to me to labor under some misconception as to what is really coercion and compulsion, and what is only metaphorically such. From the sufferer's standpoint it may, indeed, become hard to distinguish between moral and physical pressure. But the punisher's point of view will render it easy to draw the line of demarcation around all acts which directly cause physical pain or privation. Boycotting, though severer as a punishment than actual incarceration, cannot, I think, fairly come under the category of physical coercion, or be held as a punishable offence either. So also solitary confinement, however formidable, is not, I think, to be confounded with moral punishment.

Be that as it may, the means alluded to has enabled the village community to dispense with the services and consequent charges of a police or a body of court-peons. And the economy thus effected must be viewed in connexion with the general question, elsewhere discussed, of the distribution of property and the relation between the rich and the poor, characteristic of joint-families and village communities.

The following question naturally suggests an inquiry into the merits of the village community as a judicial authority. But one should not expect too much from a commodity which used to cost so little. After all, however, the article turned out was not quite so bad as might otherwise be expected. But all comparisons are invidious, and I should take care not to endanger my life and property by offending the legal fraternity here. However that may be, the merits of the village community as a judicial body such, as they were, seem to have been due to two or three causes.

The close and literally familiar intercourse of people in communal life seems to give a greater publicity to their every day movements than is attainable by any amount of vigilance of the public press. Add to this that hearsay evidence was freely acceptable, and we see how, armed with these weapons, the judges who understood the inner life of litigants as much as their own, could always, when so disposed, succeed in eliciting truth, however slowly. Though I am very little disposed to obliterate the distinction between primary and secondary evidence, yet I think it is not to be denied that effective cross-examination in the witness-box has always to draw its inspiration from elsewhere. And I am sure that the oath taken by touching the Zamindar's guddee, or the Brahman's feet, is far more effectual than the mysteries of the penal code or the bustle of a brow-beating barrister. These are very good things in their own way; I mean in winning cases and

confounding judges, but not in eliciting truth. In that respect hearsay bears, I think, the same relation to primary evidence that hypothesis does to logical induction. Last of all, the judiciary and litigant under the village system had this further advantage that the questions at issue could be viewed in their completeness and without the analysis which is so essential for a foreigner, but which is so calculated to put people out of court. The village community never imposed any restrictions against misjoinder and were never hampered by questions of jurisdiction. Their forum, too, had a value however primitive. Every body present was allowed to suggest principles and inquiries, the freedom being akin to that of the members of a democratic assembly and the privileges of the bar did not hedge in pedantry and humbug.

In raising funds the village community have had the same primitive ways as in judging cases and taking evidence. They would not in fact make much distinction between voluntary contribution and forced requisition. The names of payers being drawn up in a list, amounts would be put down against them more at the option of the persons assembled than at the instance of the payer himself, who, by the way, might even be absent at the time. There is some thing like haggling in these proceedings, but, as a rule, the taxers and tax-payers are fairly considerate about each other's circumstances. Over and above all these customs, one definite principle observed is, that there is always a strict comparison made and allowed between the circumstances and contributions of the different persons named in the list. No regard, however, is shown to individual opinion about the merits of the cause of subscription: whatever the community takes in hand is good for each and all the members, and a protest from a single person would either go unheeded or imperil the movement altogether. The volition of the payer is allowed free play in almsgiving, but in that matter collective activity is hardly, if ever, roused in this country, though there is emulation in no small degree. But the man who solicits your charity seems to behave as if he had claims of a particular kind, and, as a rule, makes a great distinction between his benefactors.

Social compacts: these are called Dharmaghat and lead among other causes to strikes and combinations. The institution is very old, and is maintained by the self-same remedy of exclusion from the mess and marriage. Sometimes, indeed, when members of different communities combine for a common advantage, they employ a solemn oath to give a binding effect to their organisation. This feature of the communal system is fast dying out with the decadence of caste and the mess-restriction peculiar to it: and the better classes would perhaps do better to imitate

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the inferior orders, instead of attempting to excel in puffing and tall talk.

After all, however, a vast amount of social power still rests in the hands of the village community, as the persecution against the pronouncedly heterodox members of our society amply proves. And really it is a question whether those who have the good of their country at heart, would not do well to identify themselves with their respective village communities and then endeavor to reform the society from within, rather than indulge in useless criticisms and recrimination, which can never reach the section of people assailed. The action of the present generation of instructed Bengalis seems to be guided by the principles of party politics which prevail in Europe and are based upon the doctrine, that the majority must prevail over the minority. They seem to conceive that, as in Europe, a small nucleus of powerful agitators have a chance of so augmenting their numbers as to ultimately overpower their opponents, so in Bengal their action will by and bye upset Hindu society by the sheer force of numbers. But they forget that mere numbers, as those of a rabble, whether in military or civil society, cannot give us the advantages of organisation ; and an organisation is not always the product of a written constitution. So long, besides, as the organised community of this country are not moved, the collective action will never be realised in life. The Hindus have an organised society : so much so, that any one who does not belong to some community or other is fairly liable to be confounded with what is opprobriously termed an outcast. The Hindu community is also autonomous, and no jugglery will convert a village municipality into one of our primitive townships.

If now we inquire why it is that any number of disorganised individuals can never reach the fountain sources of Hindu social activity, I can only point to one primary cause, *viz.*, that it is not a rule of majority, but one of unanimous consent, which governs the action of our society.

To many people it appears to be a self-evident truth, that the opinion of the majority ought to prevail. But after all, it must have cost Europe a long process of development to arrive at the fundamental principle of modern democracy, that opinion should ultimately be expressed in the form of yea or nay to an appropriately framed question, and that the decision of a collective body should be determined by the preponderance of votes thus declared and numbered. I do not know if the solution does not signify a sort of compromise with the well-known but dangerous alternative, *viz.*, appeal to arms, but there can hardly be any doubt, in spite of the support given to the doctrine by the now all-im-

portant school of Utilitarians, that the numeric strength of advocates is an index neither to logical nor to ethical soundness. If a poll could be taken of the whole human race, most of the scientific doctrines of the day would have large majorities arrayed against them; and as for the Utilitarian doctrine which regards the happiness of any two outsiders as preferable to that of a single person, such as one's own father, mother, wife or son, the ethical value of it is certainly not patent to primitive people, like the writer, to say nothing of the further equipment of modern democratic society, the education of public opinion by means of stump oratory, special pleading, forensic strategy, banter, bullying and newspaper agitation. Whatever, therefore, the history and worth may be of the doctrine that the claims and opinions of the majority shall prevail, one need not stand aghast at being told that unanimity has been the rule of conduct in Hindu society. Practically, however, the requirements of society are fulfilled by an implicit obedience shown to the responsible authorities. This is often confounded with the rule of despotism prevailing in other countries. The Hindu, however, knows no *rights*: he is bound to fulfil all his *duties*. Even the relationism of rights and duties is almost unknown. The sovereign, the Brahman, the purohit, the zamindar, the rayat, the karta, the husband, the wife, the father, the son, each has his duties carefully defined, and in each case the least default is counted as at once a crime towards the community and a sin to the gods. When, therefore, a difference of opinion arises and cannot be settled by the normal methods of persuasion and authority, the society is split into two—two communities which, though unequal are yet distinct and each complete by itself. In fact it does not matter how small the minority, it is never swamped by the majority. And it is hard to say how far the traditional feeling has been, or is likely to be, reversed by the present training in party politics.

To one who does not know the details of our social system, it may thus become hard to distinguish between a schism and a number of excommunicated people. Such, however, has been the influence of Hinduism, that its essential doctrines are never denied; hence those who really undergo a social punishment—one exactly like boycotting—never endeavour to form, much less succeed in forming, themselves into an organic body. A schism, however, is perfectly constitutional and always governed by the first principles of Hindu society. When, therefore, a modern agitator in Bengal attempts simply to break up Hindu society without offering a definite organisation to replace it, there is no hope of his succeeding until the Hindu social system is altogether extinct. On the other hand, the complex character of Hindu society allowing of several strata,

as Sir H. S. Maine happily calls the sub-divisions, leaves room enough for the growth and existence of innumerable communities side by side, and each with an autonomy of its own. Only when Brahmanic supremacy over the hierarchy is ignored—the proprietary rights of the Zamindar community being part of the property system and not to be shaken—the non-Hindu communities are thrown beyond the pale of third class franchise. Thus Mahomedans and Christians have become discordant communities and castes, living in the same village with Hindus, but water touched by them is regarded as a defilement by the latter; and the Brahmos are fast verging on the same condition.

There is only one escape for the excommunicated person out of this system of Hindu village rule, he may emigrate into a very remote part of the country, where, having secured a dwelling house, he may gradually find admission into some caste. It may have to be done by intrigue or persuasion, but he must establish a fellowship with some community if he wants to get on in life. And when the social punishment is unjust, and the excommunicated man is really a deserving person, he may render himself acceptable by his sterling worth, and eventually rise to equality or even supremacy over the community of his adoption. For although the rule of majority is nowhere recognised, a large preponderance of numbers on any one side naturally causes a virtual withdrawal of opposition on the part of the minority. And so, especially in Bengal, men of consequence sometimes seek to swell their following by admitting into the village stray immigrants of real merit.

Thus, too, ambitious men sometimes seek to rise to the position of a *Goshthipati* by setting aside an existing one whose fortune and position may be on the decline. The means resorted to for such purpose is to enlist the support of a large majority in any *samaj* by frequent and rich entertainments and suitable gifts. The *tika* and *chandan* to a *Goshthipati* is an honor which has to be received from the community, and especially what is called the *kulin* portion of it. These people, being previously influenced by the ambitious aspirant, contrive to take exception to some conduct of the existing authority in the *samaj*, and eventually give effect to the intended revolution.

The entertainments of village communities are not only important in settling questions of franchise and keeping up the position of the *Dalapati* and *Goshthipati*, but have a further value with reference to the social hierarchy previously alluded to. In large entertainments the invitation is extended from the peers of the village and from those of the whole *samaj*, or at least a small district of it, to the other communities of the locality ac-

according to the unit determined upon, who are admissible only to second or third class franchise in regard to the host and his peers. Such events may occur in a Brahman's family or in one of a lower caste. In either case the Brahman community are shown the highest respect, though of late the growing inequality of fortunes and the relative poverty of the Brahmans has often the effect of confining the more expensive dishes to the wealthier sections of the community. However, the money value of the entertainments apart, the Brahmans have always the highest attention. And the most learned Brahmans, again, who hold the rank of educationists, have to be honored by presents in hard cash, or useful articles. The value of these presents, as a whole, entirely depends upon the voluntary charity of the donor, but the head man of the village, or samaj, has then to take the matter in hand; and it taxes his body and mind, as well as his moral sense, in no inconsiderable degree to distribute the presents according to the personal claims or hereditary rank of each individual recipient. Disputations are often held on occasions like these, ostensibly it may be with an eye to the presents to be dispensed immediately or in future, but in reality to establish the relative superiority of the learned men who join in them. This is determined by an umpire previously nominated, or by the common consensus of the assembly called together. And the whole conduces ultimately to certain important effects upon the internal economy of our society.

I have already mentioned that the village community have to decide all manner of questions: judicial, criminal, social, fiscal, or any other which may arise. Now when a question of Hindu law or shasters occurs, and all our affairs are subject-matter of our law books, and when lay people fail to decide it with their ordinary experience, the question has to be referred to the chief pandit of the locality: it is put either verbally or in writing, and accompanied by a present in either kind or money, equivalent to a single meal of the Brahman, valued according to the means and hospitality of the donor. The amount, in short, may vary from two annas to a rupee, but ordinarily it is only four annas. Upon this the pandit writes down his opinion, or *vyavastha*, and then action is taken thereupon. In case exception is taken to the recorded opinion of one pandit by another, the point is referred to a third man of superior reputation. But in any case the *vyavastha* of a duly recognised authority absolves people who take action upon it from all further responsibility in regard to right conduct. It is of very great importance, therefore, to have it definitely settled whose *vyavastha* should carry the greatest weight with the lay people, the masses

of the community. Thus it will appear that the theory of the Hindu law finds its counterpart in the practice of the communal system of the family, the village and the caste. And that by the joint action of communal entertainments the system of land-tenures, the hierarchy of castes, and spiritual supremacy of the Brahmans, the entire economy of the village community is reconciled with the behests of the shastras.

Let us now examine some general features of the system above described. The village community is part of a larger organisation called the *samaj*, and they both have a great deal to do with caste, on the one hand, and joint-families on the other. The society has to be viewed first of all in connexion with the land on which the people dwell, and upon the produce of which they live. This land is held upon two kinds of tenure, one of a permanent character, which imparts to the holders thereof a position of the highest consequence, and the other, of a temporary character suited to the immigrant population who hold them. The holders of both kinds of tenure are further differentiated in various ways. But, as a whole, there is a relation of subordination between them. And they are to a certain extent ranged in hierarchical order, though in this respect the current usage seems to have diverged considerably from what the shastras would show to have once existed. How far the political changes in the country may have contributed to a discordance between the hierarchical relation of different castes, the several orders of Indian landed tenures and the actual and professed occupation of each caste, is not easy to ascertain. But certain it is that the Brahmans stand at the top of the hierarchy from a religious point of view, whereas in regard to the landed tenures the supremacy of the Brahmans is exceptional. No doubt Brahman rajas and zamindars are often to be found, but even as such they have to respect the spiritual functions set apart for the Hindu priesthood. The zamindari functions, on the contrary, are entirely of a temporal kind. And the supremacy of the proprietary body in temporal affairs is as pronounced as that of the Brahmans in spiritual. It is not, therefore, the village zamindar or the *Goshthipati* and his peers alone, nor the Brahmanic priesthood alone, who govern the Hindu society, but it is a kind of double government which has prevailed ever since the Hindu shastras were written. Nothing to my mind so distinctly proves the abovementioned feature of our social or political constitution as the fact that the temporal authority, *e.g.*, Raja, *Goshthipati*, or Zamindar, may prohibit the services of a *guru* or *purohit* being rendered to an offender or accepted by the community, *i.e.*, when the Guru or purohit himself has to be punish-

ed, just as the services of the village barber and washerman may be prohibited. In the cases alluded to the supremacy of the Brahmans as a community is not disregarded, but so far as the individual Brahman is concerned, as an accused person, or as an instrument of communal government, the fiat comes not from the priestly, but the temporal, authority of the community. The Brahman priest is supreme in spiritual matters, but the Raja, the Goshthipati, the Talukdar and the Zamindar (I am purposely avoiding the caste question in this connexion) are equally supreme in temporal matters. The Hindu society is composed of many ranks, but all subordinate to the two, one of whom is admittedly the Brahman, and the other, an analogue of the K'hettriya. Each section is autonomous in every respect, except that they altogether form a complete whole with the two named above.

We know that in temporal matters the zamindars have all along exercised large powers : they have had a small police—the village paiks and chowkedars—under them, and must also have had some arrangements for military operations. But the most singular feature with them is that they have never tried (at least not since the legendary days of Parasuram) to usurp the functions of the priesthood nor, to dominate over them. Nor have the Brahmans ever sought to unite in their hands the temporal functions as well as the spiritual. As a zamindar, a Brahman might certainly act the part of a K'hettriya, but in such cases the spiritual functions are never made, or sought to be made, co-extensive with temporal functions. This shows why the theocratic character attributed to the Brahmans and Brahmanic caste is in no way tenable. We have never had a King who was also the head of the church, nor a Pope who dispensed the temporalities of the country. The supremacy of the Brahmans, as prescribed in the shastras, and as upheld by current usage, consists simply in the veneration shown them by all other Hindu castes and the moral weight attached to the Brahmanic vyavastha on contested points. In this last named connexion we know that the Brahmans themselves only determine from time to time, and in a rough way, who is the most learned man among them. This question, as we have seen, is settled on independent occasions, *i.e.*, those of large communal entertainment. And when afterwards a question of law is raised by any member of the community, the Brahman's vyavastha simply declares what conduct is in accordance with the Hindu shastras, and what is not. The autonomy of the Brahmans themselves imparts to this vyavastha the character of what I can only call a moral injunction, and that of one coming from the Brahman community of

the samaj. The injunction is finally enforced only by the temporal authorities, whether these be the head men or peerage of the community to a member of whom it was issued, or the zamindars of the village to whom such member and his peers are subordinate. Thus it would appear that the relations of the Church and State have been definitively settled in Hindu society upon the very same principle which M. Comte has so recently set forth as part of his scheme of sociocracy (I make use of the word "church" in the absence of a more suitable one). Whatever, therefore, a spirit of religious fanaticism may impel people to say against the Brahmanism of India, or the positive polity of Comte, the facts submitted above will, I hope, afford a strong testimony in support of either of these systems, which have been so independently brought out, and from such opposite ends of the globe. Sociocratic Brahmanism may be presumed to be sound, if only for this reason, that one of the most advanced thinkers of the day has, in Europe, independently arrived at a solution of the social problem so closely similar to it. And on the other hand, Utopian as some people may stigmatise Comte's system to be, there is every reason to expect for it a stability greater than that of Indian Brahmanism, since it embodies all the experience of Europe from Thales down to Comte himself.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. III.—ALGERIA.

A FRENCH DEPENDENCY.

FIFTY years have elapsed since the invasion and conquest of this province of North Africa by the French. The idea was started by the Legitimist Monarchy, carried out by the Constitutional Monarchy. Under the Imperial regime the greatest attention was paid to the welfare of the country; under the Republic an attempt is being made to introduce civil government, and, as a corollary to the complete domination of Algeria, a policy of expansion has been inaugurated by the practical annexation of the adjacent province of Tunisia, while energetic endeavours are being made to unite the French province of St. Louis on the river Senegál to Algeria by a railroad. This means annexation of the Sahára and gradual absorption of Morocco on the west, and Tripoli on the east, which will constitute a first-rate African kingdom. The independence of Egypt will be more than imperilled by so powerful a neighbour; and Europe must then, if not before, interfere.

From this point of view only is the expansion of French power in Northern Africa to be deplored. The extinction of the weak and retrograde Mahometan domination was absolutely necessary, to allow these once fertile provinces to regain their old position as the granaries of Europe. France is the only European power that has the strength and the will to make and retain the conquest. The pretensions of Spain and Portugal to the Western portion of the Coast belong to the past: their population is not sufficient for their home-requirements, and they have not the resources for a great struggle. Fifty years hence Italy might possibly be ready; but the pear seems to be ripe and ready to fall, and the solution of such a problem cannot be deferred till a particular nation is strong enough to take a part in it. The kingdom of Greece might, on the same grounds, put in a claim for a share, obviously without the power to obtain or retain it. The Northern Powers can afford to look on with quiet disdain. It is a positive advantage to commerce to get rid of the Mahometan system. Bismarck is credited with a kind of Satanic delight at seeing his enemy thus weakening her resources. England can feel nothing but a quiet satisfaction at seeing her friend developing her energies in North Africa, on the Senegál, in Cochin China, and the New Hebrides, regions beyond the orbit of English influence and interests, for the very simple reason that they are, and probably will ever remain, entirely unprofitable.

It does not lie in the mouth of an Englishman, leastways of an Anglo-Indian, to dwell on the moral side of the question, on the iniquity of foreign conquest, and the destruction of national independence:—the story of Afghanistan and the Transvaal is too fresh in the annals of the time. It can only be surmised that great nations are periodically liable to savage outbursts of lust for conquest and annexation; that they feel that they have the strength of a giant and must use it, even if it be to their own shame and injury. Whenever this tendency exhibits itself in another Power, it is at once sternly condemned: no words are too strong for the reprobation, but, when the fierce privilege is indulged in, however wantonly, it is qualified at home by the necessity of vindicating national honor or the public weal. This is the light in which, with a kind of pitying wonder, the policy of France fifty years ago, when it annexed Algeria, and during the present year, when it has laid its hands upon Tunisia, must be regarded. The object of the following pages is to describe the manner in which the French nation rules subject peoples, and the degree of qualification which it possesses for introducing Occidental notions of justice and equality without offending hopelessly against Oriental prejudices.

Great Britain has under its control constitutional colonies, such as Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and others: Crown Colonies, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Hong-Kong and others: and Subject-Empires, such as British India. The circumstances of each class are very different, and the attitude of the mother country is not the same to all. That Great Britain has succeeded in the mighty work of colonisation by her own people is a fact which history can testify: that France has failed seems a fact that cannot be doubted. It requires no great skill for a superior military power to hold possession of a Crown Colony, such as Malta, or Hong-Kong. Portugal is able to do thus much. But the most difficult problem is the last, *viz.*, to rule a Subject-Empire firmly, yet justly; to give every blessing of civil and religious liberty, while independent municipal institutions and political liberty are sternly denied, as a necessity of foreign domination. In this particular, England may be said to have, to a certain extent, succeeded: Portugal and Spain have miserably failed in Asia, Africa, and America. Holland is considered to have had but scant success, and France is still on her trial.

There are abundant books published in France to help us to form a judgment with regard to the success of the last fifty years in Algeria, and I approach the subject without prejudice, and with the advantage of a tolerably accurate knowledge of British India during the same period. The problem is, therefore, one that is

not strange to me, and I have further had the opportunity of personally examining the administrative system of Turkey in Asia and Egypt. The great story of Roman domination in North Africa is to me not unfamiliar, and my particular attention has of late been turned to the state of the people of Africa generally, North and South of the Equator. I have long had it in my mind to do what I now propose to do, succinctly and impartially. M. Mercier, a Frenchman, who has resided in Algeria, for twenty-six years, has opportunely published a volume in French, called "Fifty years of a Colony, or Algeria in 1880," in which he impartially, and with full knowledge, reviews the history of the vacillating policy of the mother country, and the progress of the Colony. Another accomplished Frenchman, Jules Duval, who devoted his life and best talents to the interests of Algeria, published several volumes in his life time, and since his death his Essays, written at different intervals in leading periodicals, have been published collectively, and are store-houses of facts and suggestions. Meritorious works have been published by English authors, too, as Algeria has become of late a place of resort for invalids who seek to avoid the winter of Europe.

The physical appearance of the country is simple. There are three regions : I. "The Tell," extending from the sea shore to a distance varying from fifty to one hundred miles,—an undulating cultivated strip of territory, but including the Atlas mountains, which run right across the province, and the mountainous home of the Kabyles. II. The "High Plateau," formed by vast plains, separated by parallel ranges of mountains, increasing in height as they recede from the Tell, and again decreasing, as they approach the third region, the Sahára. During seasons of copious rain, and, where there are means of irrigation, this plateau produces abundant crops of cereals, but otherwise it presents to the eye an unbroken stretch of stunted scrub-plants, on which browse the herds and camels of the Nomad Arab. The third region, or "Sahára," consists of the Lower Desert to the East, on the confines of Tunisia, and the Higher Desert, which extends into the kingdom of Morocco. Their features are quite distinct. The moving sand, which is conventionally supposed to be a feature of the Sahára tract, is found in both, but does not cover one-third of the region. In the Higher Desert there are rocky steppes, and the depressions between these are filled with sand : the greatest depression not exceeding fifteen hundred feet above sea level. In the Lower Sahára not one point reaches that altitude. In the one, the plateau is the prevailing feature, in the other, the depression ; in the one, rocks abound, in the other, they are totally absent. These facts should be borne in mind, now

that it is contemplated to traverse this region by railways, to inundate portions with the waters of the Mediterranean, and to pierce it here and there with artesian wells.

The political divisions are the central province of Algiers; the province of Oran on the west, extending to the frontier of Morocco, and the province of Constantine to the east, extending to the frontier of Tunisia. Algiers and Oran are sea ports; Constantine is inland, but connected by railway with the port of Philippeville. Betwixt Constantine and Algiers is the famous country of Kabylia; the Eastern division has Borgie for its port, and the Kabylia of Jhurjura has Dellys for its port. These are the African highlands, so celebrated for their picturesque beauty, and the dauntless independence of their indigenous inhabitants.

In the time of the Romans the Province of Oran was known as Mauretania Cæsariensis; the province of Algiers corresponds with Mauretania Sitifensis, and the province of Constantine with Numidia. Space is wanting to go back to the time of Syphax and Masinissa, or to those still more antient days, when Carthage was the ruling Power in Africa. There appear to be no remnants of indigenous African races, such as are found south of the Sahára. When the first Phœnician settlement, who were of the Semitic family, came from Asia by sea to North Africa, they found races already in possession, cognate with the ancient Egyptians, belonging to what is generally called the Hamitic family; but it is reasonably supposed that these were also immigrants from Asia at a still more remote period by land. These races were called haughtily by their superior Arian conqueror by a name which survives in the word Berber, and the language which they speak, extends under varying dialectal varieties from the oasis of Ammon on the east to the Canary islands, on the West, and southward to the basin of the rivers Senegál and Upper Niger, and the confines of Lake Chad. They are the same people who resisted the Romans, and they have preserved their speech in spite of the successive domination of Vandals and Arabs, though the ancient Egyptians have lost their language.

Of the first invasion of the Semitic family, the Phœnician Colony of Carthage, nought remains, but a few inscriptions, but many centuries later came a second invasion of the Semitic family, bringing with it the new religion of Mahomet, and the Nomad Arabs established themselves as the superior race, and imparted their faith to their inferior, if not subjugated, neighbours. There was a period of splendor and prosperity during the time when the Mahometan power subjugated Spain, and threatened Sicily and Italy. But the tide turned; Spain

not only freed herself, but carried reprisals into Africa, and for a long period Oran was occupied by the Spaniards. In the meantime the town of Algiers passed into the hands of pirates, under the nominal Suzerainty of Turkey, and became for centuries the public enemy of Europe.

The poetry and prose of Spain, France and Italy tell what seems to us now the wonderful story, that the ordinary navigation of the Mediterranean was normally exposed to perils which at the present days seem incredible. Thousands of Christian slaves languished in African prisons, or were redeemed by heavy payments: special charities and religious fraternities were founded to do the pious work of liberating unfortunate galley slaves. The fact is testified by clauses in wills, leaving sums for the purpose, inscriptions in churches, the plot of many a play, the thrilling portion of many a story. Cervantes himself had been a captive, and in *Don Quixote* one of the most celebrated stories is on this theme. Even in the city of London special charities exist for the liberation of slaves with the Moors, which have now been diverted to the duty of educating the Arabs of the streets. The evil had become intolerable, and continued down into this century: no sooner was peace restored to Europe in 1815, than England undertook to chastise the Dey of Algiers, and in 1816 captured Algiers, and set no less than three thousand Christian captives free. But this lesson was not sufficient to bring down the pride of the savage dynasty, for in the course of an altercation about the compensations due by the French Government to a Jewish subject of Algiers, the Dey had the impudence with his own hand to strike the French Consul, and declined to make any apology. This led to an invasion in 1830 in force by the French, then ambitious of recovering their lost military renown, the dethronement and banishment of the Dey, and the occupation of the country. And from whatever point of view it may be regarded, surely it is a distinct gain to civilization, that such an abominable Government should be put an end to, and, the north of Africa brought under the influence of European civilization.

Nature has been bountiful to Algeria, both in its soil and its climate. Its geographical position fits it to become the entrepot of an annually increasing trade. It possesses in itself the potentiality of unlimited expansion by a more scientific husbanding of resources, and a vast increase of population, and therefore of cultivated area. The products of India and North America have to be conveyed great distances; the products of Algeria are within easy distance of Spain, France and Italy, and its earlier harvests of European products enables it to supply the markets of those countries with fruits and vegetables in anticipation of the tardier

harvests of Northern climates. The legend of the city of Rome having been fed with the corn, and other agricultural wealth of North Africa has come down to us, and appeared almost incredible, considering how scanty were the exports from that continent under its Mahometan rulers. But the exhibitions of London in 1851, and Paris in 1855, 1867 and 1877, opened the eyes of Europe to the extent of the resources hitherto undreamt of. Cereals, oils, fruits, fodder, wines, fibres, tobacco, cotton, silk, wool, dyes, wood, marbles, minerals, all these are forthcoming : it would appear, that in some portions of the Colony are found the products of the North, in other portions, the products of tropical climates. Some of these are long established in the country : other industries have been introduced by the French. Mines have been re-opened, or worked more scientifically : every mineral, but gold, seems to have come to hand. The culture of the vine, forbidden by the Mahometan, appears to have been most successful, and the phylloxera of France has been Algeria's opportunity. There can be no doubt, that, under a wise Government, and with congenial institutions, Algeria has in it elements of wealth and prosperity.

A contemplation of history, past and present, leads to the conviction, that all depends upon the inhabitants and their institutions. Australia and North America remained for centuries unproductive, until the time came that the virgin soil was broken up by the stout arms of the Anglo-Saxon. Other countries of fabulous fertility have died away, like Mesopotamia, for want of men. Even an abundance of men is not sufficient to perpetuate prosperity without good government, and the history of British India, during the last fifty years, tells the tale how material wealth, expanded culture, and increased commerce, are the sure results of a strong and equitable rule. On the other hand, countries, not naturally fertile, have been brought to a high state of productiveness by the determined industry, and the sound institutions, of the people. We thus see, that three elements are required for the sustained well-being of a country : productiveness of soil natural or artificial : sufficiency, and capacity of population, and a good government. Before we proceed to describe the nature of the institutions introduced by the French in Algeria, we must notice the living material, with which they had to deal. With the exception of a considerable number of Jews, the whole population, exceeding two millions, are Mahometans, partly Arab, partly Berber, or a cross betwixt the two : partly dwelling in villages with the institution of individual property, partly Nomadic with the property held in common by the tribe. Thus it will appear, that there were no rival religions to balance against each other, an exceedingly sparse population for so large an area, the fatal defects of Nomadic habits

and tribal holding of land, and the entire absence of manufactures. Owing to the habits of piracy, no seaborne commerce existed: by land the intercourse with the neighbouring states of Morocco and Tunisia, was most restricted: if caravans found their way across the Sahara to the Sudan, slaves were the chief objects of the commerce. Of freedom of religion, freedom of travel, education, enlightenment, and progress, there existed no trace whatever.

It may be, that the population has been described in colours which are too dark, and that rumour spoke worse things of them than the facts justified. This certainly is the case with regard to the Sahara. As it has become better known, its fabulous horrors have been reduced, and it has been discovered, that the arts of civilization, by storing surface water, and piercing artesian wells, can turn a desert into a garden, collect scattered population, and increase indefinitely the number of smiling oases, some of which had survived through all ages, as a token of what was possible, by the sole agency of abundance of water. M. Duval, to whom we have alluded above, draws particular attention to the undeveloped resources of the Sahara, and the evidence of better things in former times in the existence of ruins half buried in sand. The industry of man has sometimes on the shore of the sea, or in the basins of rivers, to contend against excess of water by strong embankments, or to drain marshes caused by imperfect levels: in the desert that same industry and engineering skill can triumph over obstacles of a different kind, and the success which has attended the efforts of the French, augurs well for the future. It must be remembered, that the Sahara is not a dead level, but presents an infinite variety of surface, and the indigenous inhabitants have in their rude way stored the surface drainings, or pierced rude wells, erected their huts upon some elevated ground, planted palm trees, erected walls to protect their gardens from the encroachment of the sand, or the attacks of the Nomads. But their labours till now have lacked stability and scientific supervision, and intestine wars and tribal feuds have often proved fatal. The wonderful date-palm is the feature of such desert-settlements, tall, elegant, fruitful, clustering together in dense forests. The date forms one of the main staples of the food of the people. Under the shade of these palms spring up figs, pomegranates, peaches, and a coarse kind of grape. The rare beauty of these oases is described in the brightest colours, as the verdure of the trees, and the cool shade present a grateful contrast to the lurid yellow heat of the sand. Animal life is described as gathering to these retreats. Professional surveys have been made of this region; eye-witnesses testify to the reality, and the English traveller can travel by coach from Constantine, to Biskra and satisfy himself of it. During a certain season of the

year the steppes are covered with a luxuriant and spontaneous vegetation, and a wealth of flowers, supplying pasture to herds of unlimited magnitude, and the pastoral life is the necessary complement of the agricultural life of the other portions of the province. We must not place an undue value upon this region, and, while the area of the Tell and the high plateau regions is so thinly populated, it would be premature to dream of colonies in the *Sahára*, but its immediate occupation and domination have been found to be a political necessity. No civilized country can tolerate a "No man's land" in its neighbourhood, as it becomes the refuge of rebels and criminals, as witness the jungle of Central India in the old days, the bush of Australia and South Africa in modern times. The French Government has therefore extended its jurisdiction to certain oases, notably Laghouat, Geryville, Biskra, and Tuggurt.

Beyond the actual confines of the province, to the south, lies the mysterious oasis of Tuat, a district of considerable size, enjoying a desert independence. Here all the caravans from the north meet, from Ghat Ghadames, Tripoli, Nepta, Algiers and Morocco, to form a united party to traverse the great desert which separates them from the *Sudán*, and the kingdoms of Timbuktu on the Niger and Haussa. The residents of the oasis of Tuat are Berbers of the same stock, but speaking a dialect affected by alien elements from the south. England has a Consul at Ghadames, and if the reproachful narrative of M. Duval is to be trusted, the commerce of these caravans is in the hands of the English, an advantage resulting to them from the imperfect administration of Algeria. The most enlightened Frenchman can never free himself from the deep-rooted conviction, that all depends upon the action of the State, while the Anglo-Saxon, whether in England or North America, knows that all success results from the uncontrolled energies of the people.

Though the fact is unrecorded in history, there is reason to believe that for many generations and centuries there has been an intercourse of caravans betwixt the *Sudán* and the provinces of North Africa. Like the navigation of the ocean, it is indeed attended by dangers, but it is stated that natives of Algeria are to be met with who have found their way backwards and forwards to Timbuktu no less than eighteen times, and for proper remuneration travellers are always found ready to make the journey. The physical danger and suffering are aggravated by the savage character of the Nomad tribes, who infest the main tracks, and levy tolls from the merchants. But all these features are known elsewhere, and yield to better acquaintance, mutual advantage, and the gradual infiltration of civilization. The Tuváregs as stated above, are Berbers in a wild and uncultivated state, who

have been pushed back into these inhospitable tracts by the more powerful races who occupied the better favoured regions. The fact of their using an indigenous alphabet, only gradually giving way to the Arabic written character, marks their position in the ladder of culture far above that of the negro or the savage. Their religion sits lightly upon them, and they have conserved many ancient customs, such as great freedom to the women, and descent of inheritance to the sister's son in preference to direct issue. It may be premature to discuss the lines of Railway going to be opened from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco to the Sudán. The work of civilisation appears to require the labour of a century rather than of the few years already bestowed upon it. Good organised caravans, proceeding at stated periods, within a reasonable time, appear to be the practical aim which any English administrator would place before his eyes in this generation. He would mark out stations by the most convenient route at fixed distances; conciliate the Nomads by regular payments, and firm yet gentle treatment; teach them new arts, and accustom them to unheard of luxuries for themselves and their women. Their right to levy tolls, if they protect the passing caravans, would be admitted, and thus gradually a reign of order would be inaugurated. It is not clear, that the extent of the commerce thus nursed and encouraged would for many a long year cover the initial cost, or pay the working expenses, of the cheapest form of Railway. The presence of the hated iron line would be sufficient to rouse the fiercest passions, and we can sympathise with these free children of the desert in their determined opposition to the introduction of such an outward and visible sign of foreign domination. The massacre, a few months ago, of Colonel Flatters and his surveying party, is but a forerunner of many such an outbreak. We all know in British India, that the railway and telegraph are the emblems, and the agents, and the crowning triumph, of a rule firmly established; no one has dreamt of a line connecting Quetta with Candahar, since the Afghan spectre vanished into the air, and British India awoke from the nightmare which for two years had oppressed it. The Tekke Tartars look upon the Railway from the Caspian to Askabad as a badge of subjection, and will tear it up on the first opportunity. So will it be in this generation, and probably the next, with the Tuwáreg of the Sahára.

Such then is the country, and such are the people, with whom the French have had to deal. In the whole of the half century of occupation circumstances have been in their favour. They have had plenty of money and plenty of men, and they have been willing to bury a great deal of both in Algeria. No hostile fleet in the Mediterranean has intercepted their convoys: no long

European war has weakened their resources: no change of dynasty, ministry, or form of government, has modified the fixed determined policy to occupy Algeria. The captive sovereign, whom they displaced, was deported with his family, and neither have been heard of since. The patriot Abdul Kadir, after waging an unsuccessful war of liberty, gave in and was deported also. The Sultan of Turkey gave up with a good will his rights as a Suzerain, and, being used to the process of amputation of limbs, made no sign of dissatisfaction at the blow inflicted upon his rights as a sovereign, and the heavier blow upon the religion of which he pretends to be spiritual head. Europe looked on in silence: Italy at first was too disunited, and after that, was too indebted to France for her own liberty to make any objection to the occupation of Algeria. The extension of that power to Tunisia, and the creation of a new Carthage, as a rival to old Rome, has not been submitted to so calmly. Spain and Portugal, which might have looked upon the African Coast, or at least the province of Oran, as their own, were too weak to raise even a cry of remonstrance. Morocco submitted to the existence of a new neighbour at her very doors in sullen silence, and has been careful of giving offence. The Bey of Tunis did more, and entertained friendly relations, feeling no doubt all the time that cold shiver which indicated that some one was walking over his grave. The sturdy mountaineers of the Kabylia at last gave in, and knuckled down to the new system. Be it ever remembered, that the struggle has been one of a united nation of forty millions, in the foremost rank of civilisation, with every appliance of modern warfare, and an army and navy of the first class in the world, against a weak, disunited congeries of tribes, not exceeding two millions, in a low state of culture, entirely devoid of military science, or standing army, with a long, unprotected sea coast, dotted with practicable harbours, the whole of which were within in ten days' voyage from Toulon and Marseilles. Such were the opportunities.

From the first to the last the province has been ruled by a military Administrator, in spite of the constant protest of public writers at Paris. At this moment the Governor-General is a civilian, the brother of M. Grevy, the President; but it is clear that the principles upon which the administration is based are not those which in Europe are considered to be essential to civil administration. Let us sum them up:—the judicial courts independent of the executive: the reservation of the power of making laws to the Legislature, however constituted: the prohibition to any soldier to do any act of any kind, until called upon to do so according to law by the Civil Magistrate, or ordered to do so by the Civil Governor, to whom the commander of the forces is entirely

and completely subordinate; the subordination of the Civil Governor to the head of a civil department of the ministry of the mother country. We have a striking instance of this in British India. If there is a fault in that system, it is that in some cases, such as that of the frontier forces, the civil power has intruded upon the strict prerogative of the military authorities. But, as a fact, during the last half century, in the newly annexed province, as in the oldest, no soldier, as such, has the least authority over the people of the country. If any military officer is employed in any civil department, for that period he ceases to be a soldier, or under the orders of the commander of the forces, just as much as a military or naval officer in England ceases, while on civil employ, to be more than nominally in the army. It is true, that in non-regulation districts the civil executive officer exercises judicial functions, and that the civil executive occasionally issues ordinances having the force of law, yet under no circumstances, short of rebellion, when military law is formally substituted, does the Commander of the forces exert any authority, except over the soldiers and camp-followers. We do not allude to freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of locomotion, freedom of culture, freedom of education, freedom of commerce; such are the privileges and peculiarities of the Anglo Saxon alone in his mother country, his colonies, and subject-dominions, extended to all under the British flag; but such privileges are unknown in their entirety to any other nations, except England and the United States, and are not, therefore, necessarily a constituent portion of a civil administration.

What was the conception formed at Paris under a constitutional Government, continued under an Empire, and allowed to continue under a Republic? The control in the mother country is vested in the Minister of War, who and his subordinates, contrary to the English practice, are always soldiers. The Governor-General was to within a short period, and probably will soon be so again, a Marshall of France, commanding the troops, with the instincts and weaknesses of a soldier, and totally ignorant of the very elements of civil government. Under him were three Generals of division, placed over the civil and military jurisdiction of Algiers, Oran and Constantine: in each division there were sub-divisions under the control of Generals or Field officers. Gradually, as time went on, and French colonists established villages, a distinction arose between two kinds of districts: 1, those, which might be called more completely civil, and where property was held in severalty; 2, those which might be called tribal districts, where the land was held in common by the tribe. Over the former, presided prefects, and sub-prefects, after the fashion of France: over the latter, the "*Bureau Arabe*," the peculiar feature of Algeria, an

institution with regard to which we shall have more to say, for from one point of view, they seem to have done their duty nobly, and protected the natives against the overbearing colonist: from another point of view, they appear justly open to the severe condemnation, heaped upon them by some of the Parisian journalists, by one of whom this sentiment is expressed, the result of experience, as the writer himself had spent some years in Algeria, that the worst form of civil government was preferable to the best system of military government. We agree in this sentiment, for such rule is the worst form of personal rule: the military officer is liable to constant removal from military considerations: he is entirely ignorant of the language of a people, with whom he has come in contact for the first time: of the laws, the customs having the force of law, the procedure, the details of administration, he is as totally and entirely ignorant as the civilian is of the drill, and the orderly room:—the French soldier has, moreover, a hearty disdain for the Pequin, or civilian, even in France: what would be his feelings towards the Arab, the Berber, and the Algerian Jew?

Those who are acquainted with the details of our rule in British India, can realize what this meant by imagining the disappearance from that country of the Viceroy, his council, the high courts, and all the civil staff from the Lieutenant-Governor down to the Magistrate, and the Commander-in-Chief being vested with the power of civil governor, the divisional generals, increased in numbers, placed in charge of the jurisdiction now exercised by Commissioners in the Punjab, and field officers exercising the power of the deputy commissioners; officers fresh from England, and not relieved of regimental duties, moving about according to the annual reliefs, ignorant of language, customs, law, and routine: no doubt they would be brave, honourable, right-minded men, a little hasty, and self-willed, quite ready to draw the sword and take strong measures. We can imagine them the dupes of their native officials, the native police and revenue officials in the so-called civil districts. On the other hand, the Bureau Arabe, entrusted to able and competent officers, would be very effective, though rather high-handed, and jealous of interference. That such is the case, there can be no doubt, as one of the complaints against them, is that they stand up against their countrymen in the interest of the people entrusted to them, a fault of which the majority of the officials in British India are, we are thankful to say, equally guilty, and that, though technically subordinate to the officer commanding the district, they are prone to exert an independent authority, which, considering that they are well acquainted with the people from continuous residence, and

that the commanding officers are birds of passage, and totally ignorant, is not a matter of surprise or regret.

It occupied quite twenty-seven years to obtain full military possession of the country, and the progress of the French arms was chequered by great disasters: however, in 1857 peace was restored, and the French domination fully established over the whole of Algeria, with a population of two and a half millions. No doubt, some of the institutions came into existence during these times of trouble, and outlived the necessity which created them, from the operation of that tenacity of life which is often the lot of antiquated and useless offices. It is quite clear and admitted by the chronicler of the fifty years' occupation, who was himself a witness of what he relates, that the French government entered upon and carried through the conquest of Algeria without any fixed plan, any decided policy: they were taken aback by the extreme facility with which the conquest was made, and hung back from the responsibility, risk, and expense of direct occupation. They would gradually have made it over to some subservient native chieftain, but it was not to be, and France, during a quarter of a century, had a costly struggle, and for another quarter a costly possession.

The first pressing question was: how to deal with the native tribes, so as to keep them in order, and yet not drive them to rebellion? After futile attempts to do this by the agency of an "Agha of the Arabs," selecting a Turk, or a Frenchman, or a native for that office, the idea of selecting a special body of officers, and making over to them the duty of holding relations with the natives, something analogous to the Political Agents in British India, was as early as 1832 approved, and Captain Lamoriciere was the first head of the "Bureau Arabe." With a properly constituted civil government, supplied with police, revenue and judicial officers, who lived among the people, such an institution would have been superfluous, but while power was centered in the ill-informed Commandant of the troops, the Bureau Arabe became a necessity, a great help to the conquest, and the cause of great blessing to the people. Marshal Bugeaud, in 1841, definitely fixed their jurisdiction: under them were the native Caid, and under them a subordinate Staff of native officials, much as they existed anterior to the conquest. One cannot fail to recognize the wisdom and policy of this measure: the only wonder is, that it was not permitted gradually to enfranchise itself of military control, and expand into the full proportions of civil government. A kind of political instinct seems to suggest, that this development must take place still. The officers of the Bureau Arabe seem, indeed, to have become "*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*,"

to have adopted the Arab dress, to have gone about surrounded by Arab chiefs and horsemen, to have gone in for being friends of the people. Perhaps they were right in protecting the tribal lands of the Nomads from the appropriation of land-speculators, and agricultural companies; perhaps they were wrong in adopting the loose social views of their protégés, and forgetting that they were Christians, and gentlemen: but such men as these are of the same type and brotherhood as that great and glorious body of political officers, and non-regulation administrators, who have saved British India in the hour of peril, kept at bay the men with the red-tape and the revenue sponge, and staved off rebellion in newly annexed provinces by the iron hand in the velvet glove, the personal rule, the rough and ready administration, the gallant and daring bearing, which awed and attached, and at length subdued, those who came under their influence. Such men are handed to us in the legends of Northern India, Sleeman and Dixon, John Nicholson and James Abbott, and many others, who respected and loved the people whom it was their destiny to rule, and who were respected and loved in return.

Let us hear what the French historian says of the officers of the Bureau Arabe:—"The results obtained by the energy, tact, "and spirit of justice of some of these officers were remarkable. "Some of their names have become entwined in the legends of "the people. With their lives always in their hands, without "the possibility of any success or escape, they learnt the art of "disarming their antagonists by their dauntless bearing, and "established a respect for the French name, and thus brought "about a state of security of life and property previously unknown. "Their mode of procedure was inexorable severity, rapid conception of plans, and instant execution, and such a policy was "indispensable to rule such a people. From the first they dazzled "the eyes and daunted the spirit of the tribes, and established "the moral superiority of a dominant race." If to this be added open handedness, *purity of morals*, unflinching truthfulness, and a wealth of pardon and forgiveness without limit, the art of ruling subject-races in an inferior state of culture is revealed:—Failure can always be traced to some niggard economy, some low deceit, some rancorous revenge, some discreditable intrigue.

Unhappily the best of institutions have a tendency to decay, or to transformation, from the influence of lower motives. The exercise of uncontrolled power brings with it the seeds of its own ruin. The Bureau Arabe did not escape this fatality. The head of the Bureau Arabe became a Sultan, or, in Anglo-Indian parlance, "Bahadur," and roused the envy of his brother officers on military service, and the indignation of the French colonists.

Their honesty was suspected, and instead of courting, they resented, the criticism of the public press. In 1857 arose a terrible scandal in one of the Bureaus; all the years of good service were forgotten, and the failure of one led to the unjust condemnation of all.

The constant change of the political horizon in the mother country appears to have had a disastrous effect on the institutions of the colony. In 1848 the republic inaugurated a dualism of civil and military authorities, which must have ended in conflicts, for Frenchmen seem incapable of conceiving the simplicity of a civil administration with the Military Department in entire subordination. With the Empire in 1851, the military authorities obtained predominance, because political offenders were deported from France to Algeria, and the necessity of further military operations became paramount.

In 1858 a ministry of Algiers and the Colonies was created under the superintendence of Prince Jerome Napoleon, the victorious Plon-plon, who never even visited Algeria, but who initiated a number of reforms, some premature, all abortive, for the war in Italy broke out the next year, and his connexion with Algiers at once ceased. The tendency of his reforms was to increase the extent of territory under civil government, and to restrict that under Military Government, and to introduce the system of provincial councils in each of the three civil departments. A considerable expropriation of land was proposed by allotting to each tribe a proportion supposed to be sufficient for their wants, and appropriating the remainder to French colonisation. Moreover, the portion allotted to the tribes was to be divided as personal property to each individual. Bureau Arabes with a civil complexion were to replace similar institutions with a military complexion in certain localities.

These measures were abortive; they were well intentioned, but mistaken. Of what possible use could a council be in the administration of departments in their rudimentary state of civilization? An intelligent Civil Commissioner was sufficient to work out the principles laid down by the Governor for his guidance. What a deep sense of injustice would be roused among the tribes at the sight of the reduction of their ancestral grazing grounds, and the sale and grant of their lands to French colonists? It is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant. The notion of individual, as opposed to tribal, property is one that can only be inculcated gradually.

The Emperor Napoleon visited Algeria in 1860, and another change took place. Marshall Pelissier was made Governor, corresponding direct with Emperor; military predominance was

again established, and the Bureau Arabes of the military type had another turn of triumph. More than that, in a famous letter in 1863, the Emperor announced to the Marshall, that Algeria was not a colony in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term, but an *Arab kingdom*. This raised a violent excitement among the French colonists, who had been tempted to invest their money in the country, and who protested strongly against the idea ; but their delegates to Paris were not admitted to an audience, and the Emperor carried out his policy, and ordered surveys to be made, and the property of the tribes to be reserved to their use.

In maintaining a military regime, the Emperor may have been wrong, but in protecting the tribes from the wholesale spoliation of their land, he was certainly right, and there is truth in his assertion, that Algiers was not a colony, but an Arab kingdom.

In spite, however, of the strong Military government, and the justice promised to the tribes, a serious revolt broke out on the frontier of the Sahara ; a French detachment was cut to pieces ; the Kabylia rose in arms, and it required the work of a year, and the aid of reinforcements from France, to restore order : Marshall MacMahon succeeded Marshall Pelissier, who is said to have died from vexation at his want of success, and a terrible famine followed. The starving tribes crowded into the cities ; half a million are reported to have perished, and acts of cannibalism took place in several localities : the press was strictly gagged, but private letters and an address of the Archbishop of Algeria roused the whole of France. To the sword had succeeded famine ; to the famine now succeeded pestilence, to which many of the French colonists succumbed. Alien rulers of great foreign dependencies must calculate on the recurrence of such scourges. Great is the responsibility of a nation, when it charges itself with the care of the weal and woe of subject millions. The most conscientious and parental system of Government may fail to arrest such evils, but it can mitigate their consequences. A vast, unfeeling system, mainly directed to the interests of the alien colonists, will eventuate in the annihilation of the subject races.

The power of the Emperor was unmistakeably growing weaker, when in 1869 the Senate appointed a Commission of Inquiry, the result of which was the determination to abolish the Military system of Government. The news was received with enthusiasm in Algeria. In the meantime the war with Prussia broke out, the Empire disappeared, all the troops were recalled from Algeria to fight the fight of the mother country, the Military government ceased to exist, and by decrees of the Assembly at Bordeaux, a Civil government was established, or supposed to be so, for, in

fact, the state of affairs amounted to anarchy. The natives of Algiers looked on in astonishment : gradually they felt that their position and their interests were threatened : the fall of the Emperor, to their notion, relieved them of their allegiance. The Bureau Arabes, finding themselves the subjects of unjust attack, made no exertion to calm the tumult and keep their subordinates in a right state of mind. At length a serious rebellion broke out, and a number of colonists were massacred ; order was restored by troops sent from France, but with difficulty. If the natives had commenced their revolt earlier, the disaster might have been much more serious. At any rate, it is a subject of serious reflection, that an unsuccessful or prolonged war in Europe, must entail a rising of the tribes in Algeria. The result of the revolt was the confiscation of a vast area of tribal land.

Under the Presidency of M. Thiers, a system of civil administration was restored, of the usual type, and an Admiral was appointed Governor-General ; but he fell in 1873 with M. Thiers, and General Chanzy was appointed Governor-General by the reactionary party. He had been an old chief of the Bureau Arabes, and knew the language and the secret policies of the tribes. He appears to have had singular qualifications for his duty, but, justly or unjustly, he raised against himself the feelings of the colonists, and, when the result of the elections of 1879 crushed the hopes of the reactionists, he retired from office, and was succeeded by the first Civil Governor, M. Albert Grevy, brother of the President of the Republic, who still occupies that post.

General Chanzy's failure was not owing to his wishing to introduce the military system, for he was Civil Governor, and acted as such, but because he did what appeared to him justice to the natives, and therefore drew upon himself the hatred of the party of the French colonists. As stated above, a vast territory had been confiscated, and the colonists looked upon this with greedy eyes. But the General felt that a *modus vivendi* must be given to the tribe upon their submission, and he consequently settled them in villages, and assigned them a sufficiency of land ;—in fact he allowed them to redeem their own lands. He did his best to carry out the law, establishing individual in lieu of tribal property. Anyone who has studied such subjects knows that such a measure must be the result of time, and of spontaneous action. A less well-informed public opinion fancied that such changes could be effected by a stroke of the pen, and blamed their Governor for the slowness of his reforms.

The question fairly arises—would the Empire of British India have been built up to its present magnificent proportions, if, on

every change in home politics, radical changes had been made in the local administration, and the shadows that passed across the sky at home, had been reflected in the distant sea of the subject territory? There is little doubt that the opportunity of adding to, or consolidating, or maintaining, our empire, would have been lost, had there not been an authority like the East India Company, independent of party and insensible to the contemporary current of popular feeling. Sometimes, indeed, a popular cry, a doctrinaire expedient, the craze of some great man or dominant school, has floated over the province, and for a moment infested the pages of the local press, or the discussions of the Council Board—such as the settlement of Englishmen upon waste lands, the general introduction of a perpetual settlement of the land revenue, the invasion of a neighbouring kingdom like Afghanistan, as a supposed measure of self-defence—but the delusion has soon been lived down, and the rulers of the country have returned to their well understood principles of governing *that great country on the highest principles, and for the benefit of the people of that country.* *Esto perpetua!*

From the first Algeria was treated as a colony, and schemes of colonisation were made, of the most faulty nature, evidencing the incapacity of the French nation for such enterprises. M. Duval expresses his wonder that the vast stream of emigrants should flow to the United States and the distant English colonies, and not seek out Algeria, which is so much nearer, but the wonder ceases when the history of the fifty years is examined. In 1848 the discontented workmen of the great towns were tempted, by great material assistance, to rid their native country of their presence, but they were not the material for agricultural colonies: an attempt was made to garrison the country with military colonies, but the old soldiers gradually disappeared. To check the schemes of the land-jobber, concessions were made gratuitously in small lots interlaced with the holdings of others, who were entire strangers, and some of these lots were in numerous detached fields. Those who are familiar with the interior history of villages in British India, can realise the complications arising from such needless entanglement. Moreover, all the concessions were conditional and liable to forfeiture in certain periods, thus rendering all advances to the holders from banks impossible, as there was no freehold to place in mortgage as security. Upon the principle of the Latin races, the State was expected to do everything: to select the village site, to make the roads, to open the canals,—nothing was left to individual choice, or municipal exertion. The gratuitous concession of lands opened the door to favouritism and tedious formalities and delays, instead of the simpler and more acceptable

expedient of public sales. Wild schemes were broached, of introducing particular modes of culture and particular products, ending in disappointment. British India has not been entirely free from such snares, as if the experience of centuries had not taught the resident agriculturist the mode of culture most suitable to the soil, and the product likely to give the best return. In the regions confiscated from the tribes, there was always the risk of reprisals from the ancient proprietors, and we read of massacres of whole villages, and hazardous escapes to the cities.

When the Emperor Napoleon, in 1860, announced the new idea of the Arab kingdom, or in other words "Algeria for the Algerians," French colonisation received a rude check, or, in other words, *French citizens were robbed of their patrimony*; for the idea that the waste-lands of Algeria belonged to the French people collectively, and not to the Arabs and Berbers who had held them in undisputed possession for centuries, had taken deep root in the public mind, and it will be curious to watch the growth of this idea in the adjoining province of Tunisia. In 1871 justice was again done to the people of France by extensive confiscations, and emigrants from Alsace and Lorraine, who could not brook the domination of their country by the Germans who were people of their own kin and language, left Europe and settled in Kabylia, upon lands which had been held by the free and independent Berbers since the time of the empire of Carthage, so strange is the inconsistency of the human mind when roused by political passion. The ousted Kabyles were not pastoral nomads, but dwellers in houses and villages and cantons, after the manner of the Swiss confederation, living a settled life, practising the ordinary arts of their particular stage of civilisation. The cantons were leagued together in a kind of savage band, based upon republican principles, but tempered by an aristocratic element, evidenced by the existence of families of military or religious origin. It is as if the Government of British India, had ousted some of the time-honoured Rajput settlements in the lower Himalaya, and divided their lands among European colonists, to prove an apparent element of strength, but a certain element of weakness, when the great struggle for Empire has to be again fought out, and the hand of England's might is shortened. The great emigration from Alsace was not a success. Of the ten thousand who landed in Algeria, a great many sold their grants, and disappeared: the void appears to have been filled up by grants to members of the new class, of the issue of French colonists born in the country, with the singular condition, that the grantee should be married, giving, as it were, an incentive to the increase of population.

We have, however, yet to learn whether the issue of French parents in such a climate as North Africa retains the vigour and patriotism of his European parents.

There are two regions in Algeria opened to the colonist: in the littoral region, where the soil is peculiarly fertile, small holdings may be exceedingly remunerative, and life in a village may be tolerable. But in the region of the Tell, where the country rises in successive swells of mountains and valleys to the high plateau, nothing but farming on a great scale can answer, and a piteous picture is drawn of the adventurous colonist who enters upon such an enterprise without abundance of capital,—and capital is just the one thing which the French colonist does not possess. It is worthy of remark, as bearing upon the political future of Algeria, that a very considerable Spanish colony has settled in the province of Oran, and many other nationalities are represented. Experience has told us, that gratitude to the mother country is not to be expected from colonists of the same race and language: how much less from a motley collection of emigrants from people of other race and language. Moreover, it will long rankle in the mind of the colonist of the next generation, that France has always treated Algeria as a foreign country. Influenced by the political necessity of protecting certain powerful interests at home, the products of the Colony have been placed at a disadvantage. Repeated protests against this unjust fiscal policy have been made, and in vain.

An acute observer remarks that the French peasant, or farmer, is not an emigrant by choice: it is only those who have failed in their own country, that are induced to venture, and these are just the class not likely to succeed. There is no religious persecution now, which has the effect of inducing the very salt of the earth to leave their ancestral homes: this germ of colonisation has, thank God! ceased for ever. The Frenchman has now no political necessity to fly his country, and nostalgia is one of his greatest trials, and it has been found in practice, that the facilities of return are too great, and France is too near to her colony. The unsuccessful adventurer returns penniless to his native village, and by painting a sombre picture of the state of affairs, and suppressing all mention of his own misconduct, he discourages others. The real colonist burns his ships, and lays the foundation of a new home, and this is the secret of the success of the Anglo-Saxon colonies. Owing to the strange phenomenon of French domestic life, openly alluded to by religious and secular writers,—that in a French home there is never a large young family,—the material for healthy colonisation is not forthcoming.

It is the surplus,—the young, healthy and vigorous—of young men and women who seek an opening, that enables the English to people the remote parts of the world with a never-ceasing stream of emigrants.

Another strange feature has forced itself into notice this very year. In spite of fifty years' domination the French power has not been so exhibited as to convince the Arab and Berber tribes of the hopelessness of any attempt to throw off the yoke. It is a struggle of a nation of two millions against one of forty, whose resources are within two days' voyage. In British India the problem is being worked out of a population exceeding two hundred millions being kept in subjection by a nation of thirty millions, whose resources are at the distance of one month's voyage, and no doubt there is great peril for the future. It is, indeed, strange to hear of an insurrection in Algeria following at once upon the occupation of Tunisia, and, no doubt, we are by no means at the close of that drama yet. Another notable feature is that the Spanish colonists of Oran, who have suffered so heavily in this insurrection, do not consider themselves French subjects; but those who survived, hurried back to Spain, and urged, through the Spanish Government, a claim to compensation from France for their losses. There may be tea planters of French or German origin in British India, or German and Dutch colonists in South Africa, but we doubt whether any claim to compensation, urged by a foreign Government, would be listened to by the English Government. It would be, indeed, hopeless to found a colony, if the integral parts still maintained their original nationality.

The French colony has escaped the religious snare, and has increased the wrath of the Ultramontane party in consequence. Entire freedom of worship is guaranteed, and there may be said to be no established dominant church. Here, however, the true line of policy has not been followed. We read of mosques converted into churches: this is an outrage unworthy of the century. We read also of mosques erected at the expense of the State: this is an insult to the common Christianity which is presumed to be the heirloom of every French colonist. The priests loudly denounce the firm and prudent government which will not permit, in a Mahometan country, the offensive and needless display of a foreign cult in the public streets: they equally denounce, and with as little reason, the free license allowed, from time immemorial, to the Mahometan to celebrate, in public, in his own country, his annual festivals. Religionists must be blind, who do not perceive the equity which underlies this distinction. The Hindu and Mahometan are allowed in British

India a license of religious external display which would not be tolerated for a moment in England, or in any Christian colony.

Let us examine the returns of the census of the European population in 1877, the latest available.

French, born in France or in Algeria	156,000
Jews	33,000
Other European nations	156,000
Civil establishments	9,000
Army	51,000
Total	<u>405,000</u>

Of the French some are Creoles, that is to say, born of French parents, in the colony, of the second generation, who have never seen France, and who have colonial culture and prejudices. It is shown conclusively that the birth-rate exceeds the death-rate, and that the average number of the family is larger than in France, which is not saying much. Frenchmen may flatter themselves that their colonists will be the same as themselves: we have the notable instance of the French Huguenots of South Africa having passed entirely into the status and culture of Dutch Boers. The French of Canada and the Mauritius care little for France, though very much for their own liberties: it is quite a dream to suppose that the inhabitants of Algeria will identify themselves with France, as soon as they are able to stand alone. Attention is called to the size of the army of occupation, and the cost which that must entail upon the mother country. Compare that with the regiment or two which forms the garrison of an English colony, and the expense of which is grudgingly afforded by England, who, instead of shutting her ports to the exports of her colonies, finds the ports of her colonies partially closed to her own manufactures.

What shall be said of a colony in which the European population is composed of the same number of French inhabitants as of other European nations? The Spaniards alone number 90,000 and are settled in the province of Oran, which, as late as the year 1792, belonged to the crown of Spain, which they still regard as belonging to themselves, and which resembles so much their own climate. None of these strangers take the trouble of naturalising themselves as French citizens, because they have greater advantages as strangers: they are not liable to military service, or civil duties, such as those of jurymen, and can appeal to their Consul at discretion. On the other hand, though forming so large a proportion of the population, they have no municipal rights, but have the scant privilege of nominating one foreigner to re-

present them all in the Local Councils. The inconvenience if not danger, of such a state of affairs is admitted, and the Spaniards have lately been called upon to serve one year in the Algerian militia, though not liable to serve in the French army. The immigrants from the Balearic Islands and Italy are of great importance as supplying cheap labour, and thus, in practice, push out the French immigrant, who requires higher wages, and who would be glad to exclude such rivals from the colony, if he dared, as he has deprived them of the privilege of obtaining any concession of land. But if this state of affairs continues, we may see a not very distant date, when the colony will become hostile to France, especially as the fatal policy of deporting in former years political antagonists to Algeria, and encouraging old soldiers to settle there, has given birth to a community decidedly hostile to the mother country, and apt to criticise and turn to ridicule her administrative measures.

The population of 33,000 Jews is a remarkable element: they are all naturalised as French citizens; are in comfortable circumstances; have large families; and are on the increase. There are, in addition, some 7,000 alien Jews who, to avoid the burden of conscription, have entered themselves as subjects of Morocco or Tunisia. They were all naturalised *en masse* by a decree from Paris, in 1870, and were, in fact, unworthy of an honor which they had not even solicited. They have by no means amalgamated with the Europeans, being African by birth, culture and prejudices: they devote themselves to small city commerce, to the entire exclusion of all European rivals. They appear to be very unpopular, and so far in arrear of modern French ideas, that, on their return from their year's service in the army in France, they adopt the turban and loose pantaloons, and the other customs of their country. It is self-evident that, in a struggle of the colony with the mother country, this section of the community would be with the colonists, and probably that section of the colonists which would be the least friendly to the French. It is quite possible that, in the hour of peril, they would take part with the Mahometans against the Christians, whom they detest.

A more important subject is the indigenous Mahometan population, which is estimated, upon credible data, at two and a half millions. To Englishmen who dwell in British India tranquilly, a mere handful among the millions of Hindus and Mahometans, it seems strange to hear a Frenchman discuss the grave danger of the number of Europeans being only one in seven to that of the natives. It appears that the indigenous population had in 1861 reached to two and three quarter millions, but has been reduced

by epidemics and rebellions to the extent of a quarter of a million; but it is clearly again on the increase. To these must now be added the exasperated population of Tunisia to enable us to form a right conception of the political situation. The French writer whom we have followed, does not think that the position will be safe, even as regards Algeria, until the colonists amount to one million, an event which is still a long way off. He admits that there is not the least moral assimilation betwixt the two races going on; that the Arabs have not taken one step towards it; and he attributes this to the difference of religion, but this has not been found to be so absolutely a wall of separation elsewhere. No intermarriage takes place betwixt the two races: the number of Arabs, who have applied to be nationalised as French subjects, amounts to seventeen. They have only to ask for the honour, but they do not care for it. Nearly all the cereals of the province are the result of their labour, and they monopolise the breeding of cattle, as none but Arabs could dwell in the high plateau, so cold in the winter, and so hot in summer. They bring down their flocks and herds to find a market. They breed camels, and bring them down laden with wool; but their system both of pasturage and agriculture is defective, and uneconomic:—they are incapable, however, of any change. They are strictly conservative in their habits and methods. In spite of their unscientific agriculture, it is admitted that the crops in good seasons are marvellously abundant, and that silver pours into the hands of the cultivators, who buy up land, a portion of the concessions to colonists, to a considerable extent. On the other hand, in bad seasons, they fall into the net of the Jew usurer, and are reduced to penury. These are the well established features of that particular stage of civilisation, and it may be doubted whether deep ploughing would suit the soil, or high agriculture, the cultivator. Beneath those who own the soil, are tenants without any proprietary rights, and the French colonist makes a large use of native labour, which is cheap, if not good. They serve as shepherds and day labourers, and, in some cases, take farm-holdings on lease from the Europeans.

The tribal possession of the land is no doubt a great difficulty. Under the native rule occupation of the same plot by father and son was respected, but this implied no right of alienation to a stranger. The pastoral tribes drive their herds to the region of the Sahara during the winter, and return in spring to the high plateau region, looking out for localities where there is abundant pasturage, but not necessarily returning to their former stations. This kind of property may be necessitated by the physical features of the country, but it is difficult to reconcile it to the hard and fast rule of individual property. In Kabylia, and in certain localities,

individual property does exist, and can be guaranteed in the ordinary way. The point of view from which the colonists and their supporters regard this question is unfavorable to the tribal system, because they wish *to secure the surplus land, and the best land*, to themselves. In British India the only question would be, what is best for the people, and what system will enable them to discharge their duties to themselves and the State best? In Algeria, there is always the earth-greed, and the pressure from Home to provide land for the colonist. No doubt, historically, the right of the Arab is no better than that of the Frenchman: he came as an alien, and extinguished all that had survived of Roman or Vandal colonisation, and sat down upon the lands of the Berber. Centuries of occupation have supplied him with a good title, and mixed races, and similarity of religion have bridged over the difference betwixt the two peoples. The French colonist has before him the task of extinguishing the Arab, if he is strong enough to do it, and of assimilating with the Berber, if the proximity of Europe will allow of such a degradation. The circumstances of Kabylia are quite different: a densely populous and mountainous country, parcelled out into separate properties, leaves no room for colonists, except on confiscated land, where the grant is accompanied by the undying hate of the descendants of the old proprietor.

Attempts have been made to open schools and colleges, but with slight success as regards the natives. The institutions were, of course, of the French type, and the inevitable dualism took place betwixt the civil and military authorities. In the Medical College there were in 1877, 77 French students, 3 foreigners, and 4 Mahometans only. Three Colleges at Algiers, Constantine, and Tlemsin, give instruction in Arabic Grammar, Mahometan law, and (Heaven help the mark!) Mahometan religion. There are only 129 students in the three Colleges, training to supply the Native Bench and Bar. There are establishments for secondary instruction at Algiers and the chief towns for boys and girls; but it is not stated whether the students are natives or Europeans: most probably, they are the latter. As regards primary instruction, among the 51,000 students, only 2,000 are natives, showing that the impression made upon the two million and a half of Arabs and Berbers amounts to nothing. In fact, the French have yet to learn that the only way of reaching the masses is by ascertaining the number of indigenous schools already existing, strengthening and encouraging them, instructing their teachers, and making it worth their while to improve their mode of teaching, and bringing them on the side of, instead of driving them into antagonism to, progress. The Arabs and Berbers are not in the lowest state of civilisation; on the contrary, a limited power of reading and writing is very

generally spread, and the Arabs, as a race, are susceptible of the highest intellectual development.

How much the French authorities have still to learn, is evidenced by the remarks made by M. Mercier regarding the absolute necessity of every public officer using the vernacular language of the people. One sage councillor of Oran proposed that the French language should be introduced by law, and the native vernaculars abolished. Our author remarks with justice, but characteristically of a Frenchman, that such a policy would be worthy of a Russian or a Prussian, but not of the genius of his nation : moreover, it would be an impossibility. Such notions have sometimes been suggested by theorists in British India, and the idea of English law administered by English lawyers in the English language, has been put forward as the perfection of justice. Nations have indeed changed their languages : we have notable instances of the Normans, who settled in Normandy, of the people of Egypt and Palestine, but such processes are slow, and the cause of the change is hard to find out, but no instance is known of a foreign conqueror compelling a subject-nation to adopt the language of the conqueror, not by the quiet attraction of superior culture, but by an order issued from head-quarters. The French have not the gift of acquiring foreign languages : it is amazing to find great scholars unable to speak any other language than their own, and there has been too great a tendency on the part of the French, when in power, to force their own language into official use, but we are glad to find, that, in Algeria, every public officer is compelled to speak Arabic, and those, who are more specially employed among the Berbers, are expected to speak one of the dialects of that language, while the French Government has taken measures to have grammars and dictionaries prepared in these languages. This principle cannot be too rigidly enforced in British India. It is not sufficient to know one or two of the great vernaculars, but the officers in charge of the non-Arian races should be selected for their knowledge of the languages of those races : when we read of a rising of those rude tribes, it may generally be attributed to the fact that they were oppressed, and that no English officer knew their language sufficiently well to understand the nature of their grievance, and hold personal intercourse with them.

As may be expected, the press has taken root in the new colony, and played an important part in ventilating the grievances of the colonists. It does not, however, appear, that there is a single journal in the vernacular languages, and, therefore, the salutary influence of this wise and sympathising medium is totally wanting. The different public organs amount to thirty, and the opinion is expressed, that they have not

risen to the level of the dignity of their great subject. Sometimes they are mere echoes of Parisian news: at other times they handle local politics and local contentions with a degree of acrimony, and a want of dignity, most unworthy of a great people. In the presence of the two millions of Mahometans the Christian settlers present the sad spectacle of bitter quarrels about their private interests, and, if the facts can be gathered from the review of their past history, a constant hostility to the Home Government, which is not a matter of surprise, when it is remembered that troublesome politicians have from time to time been deported to Algeria. The consequences of this state of affairs is that the men most capable of public duties, abstain from all interference in municipal elections, and the colony suffers owing to the violent passions of interested intriguers, who pull the wires, but do not represent the real interests of the province.

But after all, the primary object and *raison d'être* of a Government in a civilised country are to protect the life and property of the people, and it is frightful to see, that, in the volume to which we have continually referred, a volume published at Paris in 1880, it is distinctly stated, that the measures taken by the Government of Algeria have entirely and notoriously failed; that neither the French colonist nor the native is protected from the brigand, and that the police are totally inadequate to their duties. We should not dare to state these things, if they were not vouched for by a Frenchman who has resided twenty-six years in the colony, and whose statements, arguments, and suggestions, carry with them conviction. The province is supplied with a court of appeal, courts of first instance, of assize, and *Juges de Paix*, very much after the model of the mother country. Here, however, the unfortunate complication of the military and civil authority introduce difficulties which really ought not to exist. The Staff is stated to be insufficient in number for the duties, and it is astonishing to read, that appointments are made to judicial vacancies without any previous test of qualification in the law, language, and customs of the people. The decision of civil suits betwixt natives is reserved to the *Kázi*, while suits in which a European, or a Jew, is concerned, are reserved to the regular tribunals, which also receive appeals from the decisions of the *Kázi*, who is also notary public and registrar of marriages. However venal and inefficient these *Kázis* may be, it must be recollected that they are a national institution, and it is wise and kind to make use of them, improve their position, and instruct them. A subject population will bear patiently an infinity of fiscal burdens, but if their

religion, or customs, or personal rights, are interfered with, they will resist to a man. It is wisest, and safest, to let them settle these matters in their own way, which is more rapid, and less expensive. A well trained, well paid, and well-supervised body of Kázis may act as a buffer betwixt the people and their rulers.

The repression of crime, and the preservation of life and property, are much more serious matters. In the chief towns there is a collection of the scum of many nationalities,—Italians, Spanish, people of Morocco, and Tunisia, and fugitives from justice in Europe generally, and it is no matter of surprise that crimes against property and person are frequent, but they can be kept down by a tight hand. The problem of keeping down the brigands, who infest the open country, is a greater one: the spaces are enormous: the villages at a considerable distance: the population scant while at the same time rural wealth is accumulating. Such circumstances are favourable to the development of brigandage. When the Bureau Arabes existed in full force, they kept a tight hand upon the floating elements of the population, and, while guilty of occasional injustice, they kept order with a high hand, within their jurisdiction, which, of course, was restricted to the portion of the province under military control. But a migration of the population in course of time took place from the jurisdiction of the Caid, Bureau Arabe, and General Commanding, into the civil districts, and came under the more legal and complicated, but less energetic and rapid, control of the commonest civil authorities, and a kind of chaos ensued from the collision of these co-ordinate powers. Criminals could escape from one jurisdiction to another, and defy the law. Many remedies were suggested, and foremost among them the well-worn but intolerable policy of making a tribe responsible for the acts of each individual member. It is scarcely necessary to say, that, under a system of law and justice, such a remedy is most imperfect, capricious, and insufficient: the value of the property stolen, or life lost, might be paid, or an innocent person caught up, and handed over to the authorities as the criminal: in both cases the innocent would be punished for the guilty, and the real offender escape. The natives are as great sufferers from the want of protection as the colonists, and have no more knowledge in their collective capacity of the offender than the colonists, and this policy of punishing the innocent for the guilty would only exasperate them, and render them hostile to the authorities, as their natural enemies, or compel them to become themselves brigands in self-defence.

The only real remedy is that which has prevailed in other countries

viz., a strongly organized police, of both arms, commanded by energetic officers, spread over the whole province, in constant communication with each other, and under one head, thus defying all collision of jurisdiction. Such a police should have no judicial powers whatever, and be independent of the judicial authorities, except so far as making over offenders for trial. Brigands, robbers, and cattle lifters would soon find the country too hot to hold them. A Frenchman, like members of other continental nations, naturally suggests, that a passport system should be introduced, and no native be allowed to move from his residence without a police permit—but the Englishman knows that, as regards England, English colonies, and British India, such a measure is unnecessary, and hurtful.

Let us briefly recapitulate the heads and main features of the Administrative system as it existed in 1880 :—

I.—A civil Governor-General (Albert Grevy) in whom is centralised every authority, and who is responsible only to the Chambers. He prepares his Annual Budget, which is voted by the Chambers, and disbursed by monthly appropriations made to him through the Minister of the Interior.

II.—A Corps d'Armée, commanded by the General, who is under the orders of the Governor-General.

III.—An executive council, to assist the Governor-General, with special duties fixed by law.

IV.—A financial council, purely of a consultative character, consisting of thirty-eight members, eighteen being delegates from the provincial councils, and the remainder high officials, civil and military, under the presidentship of the Governor-General. They meet for twenty days only, and, their duty being to examine and discuss the Budget, and apportion the taxes, they are authorized to open out every question of administration.

V.—Each of the three provinces of Algiers, Oran and Constantine has a civil department under a Prefect, and a military territory under the General Commanding the Division.

VI.—The Prefect, assisted by a council, superintends all the civil departments, and is represented in the sub-divisions by his sub-prefects, civil administrators, mayors and shaikhs.

VII.—The General supervises his sub-divisional commandants, Bureau Arabes, and native chiefs.

VIII.—The civil department includes all the land of the towns, and the colonial appropriations. The military territory is pushed back year by year and is chiefly in the high plateau, the frontiers, and the Sahara.

IX.—In each province there is an elective council of twenty-five Frenchmen, and six native assessors, chosen by the Prefect, who

have a vote: their functions are very much the same as those of the councils general of departments in France.

The chief sources of revenue of the colony are as follows:—

I.—Octroi of the Sea upon all merchandize.

II.—Annual payments of the holders of concessions of land.

III.—Registration and stamp fees.

IV.—Taxes upon the natives:—these consist of

A.—The tithe on land, settled permanently in the province of Constantine; but open to annual revision in the two other provinces.

B.—Capitation tax on cattle.

C.—Capitation tax in Kabylia, and tax on palm trees in the oases of the desert.

Revenue officers make the collections in the civil department, and the Bureau Arabe, with the help of the chiefs, in the military territory.

The department is divided into arrondissements, under a sub-Prefect, very much as in France, but under him come mixed communes, and perfect communes. The former are composed of a certain number of fragments, or Douars, or settlements of a tribe in the civil territory, having each their juma or council. They are under the control of a civil administrator, assisted by a council formed of the presidents of the juma, and notable Europeans resident within the jurisdiction. The perfect communes are managed by a mayor, assisted by an elective council, comprising a proportion of natives elected by their countrymen. These communes often comprise a large number of native inhabitants. It is admitted that the mayors of such communes are good enough kind of people, but quite unfit for the really important duties forced upon them.

In the military territory the sub-divisions, analogous to an arrondissement in the civil department, are administered by generals of brigade: smaller sub-divisions are entrusted to field officers, or captains, or lieutenants. An attempt is made to create native communes in the military territory, as soon as the people are fit for it. It is noteworthy that of the whole population of the province one million and a half are still under military authority, and to a little more than one million and a quarter is conceded the privilege of living under a form of civil government.

The current of French colonial opinion, as represented violently and with unreasonable passion in the public press, sets two ways:—One party go in for "assimilation with the mother country," abolition of the separate government, and the addition of the three departments of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine to the

other departments of France. It must be confessed that this party forget the existence of the Arabs, the Mountain, the Sahara, the climate in the hot season, the language, and all the other physical features which render their policy ridiculous and their advice contemptible. The other party go in for "autonomy," and virtual independence of the mother country, which is to go to the expense of maintaining an army of fifty thousand men, and spend millions in harbours, railways, fortresses, &c., but to leave to the handful of French colonists the administration, because in their own opinions they understand the question, and the people of Paris, and the Chamber, and the leading statesmen of France do not. It is as if the Government of British India were made over to the Europeans of the presidency towns, and the gentlemen in charge of the tea, coffee, and cinchona plantations. What would the Arab and Berber population, what would the Hindu and Mahometan of India, say, if they were left, not to the great united wisdom and honor, and political experience, of the Parliament of the mother country, but to the contracted, and narrow views of a colonial council? Does not an echo of this danger reach our ears from Basuto-land in South Africa? The feature which strikes the reader most in the most moderate and sensible of the French writers is the entire absence of consideration for the natives. Algeria is talked about, and dealt with, as Australia, and New Zealand, and Canada, and not as British India, Ceylon, and South Africa, are talked about, and dealt with. There is a craving for home rule, but home rule of a most dangerous kind, where the governing classes are to be of an alien race, supported by bayonets, and the governed are to be unrepresented by their own delegates, and not to have the next best guarantee for protection of their interests, in the presence of an independent body of public servants, whose duty and pride, and *raison d'être*, consist in standing up for the people even against their own countrymen. In the departmental councils there are, as stated above, a certain number of native members, and, as was to be expected, they vote on the side of the Prefect, and therefore enable the Government officials to outvote the elected French members. This is looked upon as a great grievance, as the small body of colonists would like to have the power to control in their own interests the affairs of the native, involving peace and war, and the highest considerations of policy to subject races.

The late inroads of Arabs into the province of Oran, the massacre of the Spanish colonists, and the destruction of property, draw attention to another hole in the armour of the administration. In the towns and villages, where there are no garrisons, there exist

no arrangement to meet sudden attacks. Every colonist from the age of twenty-two to thirty forms a portion of the national reserve, and from thirty to forty he is included in the territorial reserve, and has his arms in his keeping, but there is no point of reunion of their companies, and when they are mobilised, they are marched off to a central station, leaving their farms, and villages entirely unprotected, without men, arms, or leaders. This is, indeed, a fruitful flaw in their arrangements, and the blot has this year been hit.

On reviewing the whole plan of administration with eyes sharpened by experience of the same problems elsewhere, it is easy to perceive the great difficulties, great errors, and great dangers, that underlie the position of the French in North Africa. The present Governor-General has introduced a series of reforms, which are under consideration of the councils, and will then have to come before the Chambers. In the meantime, the annexation of Tunisia has opened the floodgates to new troubles, and in the public press it appears as if the position of M. Grevy, and the office of civil Governor-General, were in jeopardy. The first fatal flaw is the inability of the French to conceive the idea of a civil government, as sufficiently strong to cope with mutiny, rebellion, invasion, and foreign wars, and yet the English have never entrusted the power of the civil Governor to the Commander of the forces, *as such*: occasionally the same man has held both offices, but he has had, as it were, a separate existence in the discharge of his two duties. The idea of entrusting a civil division to a Major-General, or a district to a field officer, or a sub-division of a district to a captain or a subaltern, has never entered into the possibilities of English administration. Military officers have been delegated to civil employ, but they have ceased for the time to be more than civilians, and the agents of a civil Governor.

The next difficulty is the attempt to manage a subject province, partly on the lines of a European colony, partly after the manner of a great subject dependency. The theory of the administration of British India is intelligible, and the theory of the constitution of the dominion of Canada is equally so: but if the two theories are blended, it is difficult to find the way out of the inconsistencies—and these are practical and not theoretic. It is true, that the constitutional colony of the Cape has this problem before it, but it has not solved the problem, and the Bushmen, Hottentot, and Bantu subject races are not like Arabs and Berbers, the heirs of an ancient civilisation, professors of a conquering religion, with traditions of independence, and wild autonomy dating back for many centuries, supported by the

sympathies of co-religionists, and men of the same race in Europe, Asia and Africa, with all the monuments of their ancient civilisation and independence existing before their eyes in such towns as Tlemsir, Algiers and Constantine, without alluding to their pilgrimages to Mecca, and old allegiance to Constantinople. Nothing but brute force and military domination will keep such tribes in order, and how is an administration to be devised which will keep these haughty tribes in order with the sword, who by a process of attraction are drawn to certain centres, and live intermixed with French republicans, who expect to be treated with the same legal forms that are in vogue in France?

This leads on to the third and most ridiculous inconsistency of the system. British India is governed by a *legal* system of absolute rule. The idea of a municipal council in each province, elected by any portion of the population to assist in executive duties, would never enter the brain of the wildest theorist. The Englishman, who for his own profit settles in British India, accepts this legal system, and if the law be departed from, his remedy would be appeal to the public press, or to refer the matter to Parliament. Perhaps a benevolent absolute monarchy, jealously watched and controlled by a popular assembly, is the most perfect machinery for governing subject nations, who are unable to govern themselves, that human wit has devised. A direct constitutional Government lacks vigour, energy, and rapidity of execution. An absolute monarchy, such as Russia and Turkey, lacks honesty, conscience, and publicity. In Algeria it is a farce to talk of elective councils, when the real population are so inadequately represented: the million and a quarter under the civil departments have only eighteen delegates, *chosen by the State*: the million and a half under the military authority are totally unrepresented. It would be better for the Arabs and Berbers to be at the mercy of a benevolent, experienced, high-minded statesman, like M. Albert Grevy, or even of such honest soldiers, as Pelissier, Mac Mahon and Chanzy, who, to the best of their lights, would act in the interest of the people, than of the short-sighted, interested, and hostile classes of colonists represented by the elected members of the council, with whom earth-greed and cheap labour were the first objects.

M. de Tocqueville, in a report upon Algeria to the Corps Legislatif, twenty years ago, remarks, "that it would be prudent to prepare officials for their duties, or to satisfy ourselves, that they have prepared themselves, before we invest them with power in Algeria: that such was the practice of the English in India: that the officials whom we sent out to Africa, were, with few exceptions, ignorant of the languages and customs of the people; they

"were ignorant of the principles of the administration which they represented, and applied an exceptional code of laws, with the rules of which they had not acquainted themselves." Matters have improved since then, at least, in intention, but it is complained even now, that functionaries are always changing, that there is no separate civil service for Algeria, and no official tradition: that men use appointments in Algeria as stepping-stones to something better in France, or are sent there as to a penal settlement for misconduct in France. It is sadly remarked in the volume before us, that many functionaries, civil and military, have lost their reputation by accepting miserable bribes, or by admitting to too great an intimacy Arabs who have compromised them, and made themselves centres of dishonest intrigues. A European placed in such a situation among a subject race should maintain a lofty independence of character, and an immaculate purity, a kindly but firm disposition, a readiness to listen, and such transparent honesty of purpose and justice, as will conciliate the esteem, respect and devotion of the people, among whom he is thrown. Have the neo-Latin races evidenced the existence of that power, have they realised the ancient maxim?

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
"Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

A respect for the religion and customs of the people need not degenerate into an abandonment by an official of his own religion, or a degeneracy from the customs of his own people. A sincere and devout belief in his own religion should not, on the other hand, tempt an official to lend himself to propagandism, as it is not right even to do good to others by force, for propagandism soon degenerates into intolerance. The Archbishop of Algiers, if he had the chance, would soon make a forward move in the interest of his own form of worship. The Mahometans are quite as intolerant in their own way, and as confident in themselves being in the right, and all the rest of the world wrong, as the Roman Catholics. It is a fair fight between the two developments of error. It scarce lies in the mouth of the Frenchman to denounce the religious societies of the Mahometans, or Khouan, the Dervesh, and wandering marabouts, and so called fanatics, preaching from town to town, and village to village, sedition and conspiracy against a government hostile to their nation and religion, and obtaining assistance from their neighbours in independent states, and acting under the authority of a so-called vice-regent of God. Do not the Roman Catholics of France follow the same methods, strive to stir up the same passions, collect money for the purpose from neighbouring nations, and act under the authority of their so-called vice-regent of God? It is proposed to institute proceedings against these Mahometan emissaries, and

attempt to destroy them? Will this be consistent with toleration? Will it be wise to make martyrs? Has the French republic taken anything by attacking the religious orders? If such classes are persecuted, they are apt to become dangerous. Moreover, when an alien nation undertakes to hold alien races in subjection, it is presumed to take into consideration the elements of opposition, religious, and political, which it will have to encounter.

No reasonable Englishman or German can grudge the Frenchman the privilege of subduing the North of Africa, from the Pillars of Hercules to the confines of Egypt, but there he must stop, as a new class of interests is affected by any interference with the basin of the Nile. If it pleased the republic of France to assume the Imperial title of Numidia, Mauretania, Getulia, the Sahara, Senegambia and Nigritia, and to develop the resources of the North-Western quarter of Africa, the world would be the gainer. It would lead to a vast expenditure of French money and French lives, and cripple the power of France in the case of a European war, but it would not turn the Mediterranean Sea into a French lake, and the trade that would develop itself across the Sahara, would scarcely be remunerative. The annexation of Tunisia will cost a decade of severe struggle: the annexation of Morocco will be still more difficult. The idea of an inland sea by letting in the ocean from the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, appears to be a vision: at least, the Great Sahara is at a considerable elevation above sea level. The real policy would be year by year to push forward posts, and by artesian wells make new oases, and get used to the wild Tawáregs, and teach them new wants, and show them new advantages. When Ismail Pasha was discussing the mode of conquering Nejd on the other side of the Arabian Desert, he placed a lamp in the centre of a carpet, and asked his councilors how they could reach to it. Some bent over, and tried in vain to reach it with their arms, but one crafty adviser began to roll up gradually the border of the carpet, until with the outstretched length of his body he could reach to it: The Pasha took the hint, and learnt year by year by advances of his frontier ports to encroach upon the Desert, till gradually what once was distant came within his grasp. The French must do the same: it may be the work of years, and in that time, perhaps, the tribal possessions of land, which they work with a high hand to modify, may give way to individual holdings, as, in the progress of the life of a nation, it has done elsewhere. On the other hand, so unchangeable is the Sahara and the Nomad character, that it is possible that both features may outlive another cycle of French monarchies, empires and republics, and see Paris taken a third time.

LONDON,
August 1881. }

ROBERT CUST.

ART. IV.—AMRITSAR IN 1881.

THE town of Amritsar has frequently of late years been before the public of India and has earned an unenviable notoriety. In 1864-65 a visitation of small-pox carried off several thousands of its inhabitants. In 1869 cholera raged to such an extent, that in one month over 3,000 people died. Some three years after this the beef-eating portion of the population woke up one morning to find that during the night all the butchers had been murdered. For six months after that the city was in a continual ferment, and much attention was directed to the place from the fact that it is the headquarters of orthodox Sikhs. The year under review, 1881, will stand out in the annals of the city as one of more utter desolation and death than any which have preceded it. Its story may be briefly told.

The summer was an ordinary one. The rains began rather early. Then, all of a sudden it rained most violently for three days, during which no less than 23 inches fell. In all, from April till October, about 65 inches were registered. Now the annual average rainfall of Amritsar is about 21 inches. When in 72 hours the annual average total rainfall was exceeded, we can imagine, what would take place. There was no provision for carrying off surplus water to such an extent, and of course it followed that the place was flooded. The consequence of this flooding was that the houses in the city began to give way. Many subsided and had cracked walls, and were so rendered unsafe. The mud-walled houses would, as a matter of course, collapse altogether.

When the rains stopped, fever set in. And to such an extent did it rage, that, in the 11 days ended on October 1st, no less than 2,265 people died of it. For a fortnight after this the deaths remained above 200 daily.

In the present paper an attempt will be made to account for this terrible visitation, and some remedies will be suggested. Amritsar has been the writer's home for eighteen years, and he has seen a good deal of the city, mostly on foot. He has noticed, too, the habits of the people, and he knows something of their homes.

The city was originally founded by the side of a natural fountain, or pool. Its name was Chak. In 1578 this pool was dug out, so as to make it into a tank. This was done by a faqir, a disciple of Nanak, and the fourth Sikh Gooroo. His name was Rám Dáss, and he called the village by the side of the tank, Rámdásspúr. His son and successor in the Gooroo ship, Arjan, built the tank, i.e., lined it with bricks, and in the middle of it erected a temple. This was

about the time of the Spanish Armada. Arjun changed the name of the city into Amritsar—the fountain of immortality—a name the place ill deserves.

After many vicissitudes, and much violence from the Abdalli Ahmad Shah and from the Muhammadans generally, in the time of Ranjit Singh, the city rose into importance. The walls were extended so as to enclose not only the original tank of Rám Dáss, but also others, so that now the city is about a mile and a half in length by rather more than a mile in breadth; and the population is about 150,000.

Now let us consider a little. The fact of the pool or fountain existing would seem to point to Amritsar as the centre of a depression. It is so. It is, it is true, situated midway between the rivers Ravee and Beas. But the plain between these two rivers is nearly level. There is an incline, not, however, towards either river, but towards the west, in the direction the rivers take. Any depression in this slope would therefore cause an accumulation of water. The large tanks, as Tarun Tarun, 14 miles from Amritsar, are kept filled for a similar reason. They are situated in a depression in the slope of the land towards the west. In Amritsar the tanks are considerably lower than any other portion of the city. Their depth is very considerable.

It will easily be seen that if water is constantly running into these tanks and never out of them, there must be a constant increment in the bottom of the tank of mud and sand. This would be comparatively harmless. But the tanks are always being used by all kinds of people. The Durbar tank is not used for washing clothes in: but some of the intramural tanks are, *e.g.*, the Santokhsar, the one near the Town Hall. The people here, too, wash their bodies with soap. Now, Amritsar is scarcely ever free from small-pox or typhoid fever. And, of course, remittent fever is always present. In these tanks clothes and bodies are washed after contact with these diseases. There is no hot water used. If the seeds of these visitations can be spread by water, here surely is an admirable chance given them. I have seen the tank covered in places with large patches of thick green scum which looked quite repulsive enough to give any one fever. These patches when blown by any wind into a corner of the tank create a stench that is sickening beyond endurance. If the surface of the tank be thus foul, what must the water be, and what the sediment underneath the water. There can be no doubt that the presence of these tanks in the midst of a dense population who use them indiscriminately, is a fruitful source of sickness and a mighty assistant in the spread of contagious diseases, or epidemics. Were the water running and used by cholera patients, that would spread the disease

like wild fire. How much more so, then, when the water is stagnant. Filthy though the water of these tanks is, be it remembered that devotees drink it; and ordinary people who just go to bathe, wash their mouths with it. Of, course, all this is exceedingly disgusting. In searching for the origin of disease we come of necessity across much that is disgusting. We must not desist from our search, however, because of this.

We see no help for all this fruitful evil except rebuilding the tanks at such a level, that the water can all be drawn off constantly. So long as these receptacles of filth are allowed to seethe under an Indian sun, we never need be surprised to find sickness breaking out amongst the people who use them. Were there running streams made through the city, with small tanks here and there for people to bathe in, which tanks should be constantly supplied with fresh water, and as constantly have the foul water taken away, then there would be less chance of disease being born and bred in the city. For, at any rate, one factor in the spread of disease would be eliminated. So much for the tanks. Let us now look at another evil, still more gigantic and more appalling in its work as an agent in the increase of mortality. The city of Amritsar, like every other place in the Panjáb, arose from out its own ditch. It is built of bricks—small *Nának Shāhī* bricks they are called. These bricks were made out of the clay which was dug out of the city ditch. This same clay was also used, and is still used, for mortar in the majority of buildings. *Nearly all inside walls are built with clay and not with mortar.* And many walls—partition walls for example—and inner walls are made of unburnt bricks. Besides this, the roofs of the houses and the floors of the majority are made of mud. Many houses of the poor are made wholly of unbaked bricks joined with clay.

Hence, it will be seen that outside the city of Amritsar, surrounding it on all sides, was a ditch of tremendous width and considerable depth. This ditch has been partially filled up on the north and north-west of the city for about a mile. But in other directions, it enfolds the city in its foul embrace. This ditch, in olden times, was the recipient of the whole of the drainage of the city. During the cholera season of 1869 drains, main drains emptying themselves into this ditch, were found choked with human excrement. The evil had not been discovered till the midst of the cholera epidemic. The greater part of the drainage still finds its way into this ditch. After every shower its waters are supplied afresh with the washings of the city. What those washings are, we shall presently see.

It is a common practice for dhobīs to use this ditch. People who wash shawls use it too. Besides this, every frequenter of

the latrines outside the city makes use of the ditch to purify himself. And yet people use this same ditch for cleansing eatables. They bring down to it radishes,—the large ones grown in the Panjáb, which are about 18 inches long and are eaten raw; turnips, carrots, melons, which, again, are eaten raw, cucumbers and kakris, onions, and, in fact, all roots and all fruits which may need washing or cleansing from the soil. Many of these are, as we have seen, eaten without being cooked, and they are taken fresh from the city ditch into the city.

Were the ditch running water, its banks would form a lovely promenade round the city and be a source of health and amusement to the citizens. But the stench which arises from it is the stench arising from the sewage of ages. It contains the concentrated essence of the filth of years, and is, therefore, at all times a fruitful source of disease. Were it not for the high wall surrounding the city, every wind that blows would convey the stench and disease into some portion of the place. As it is, travellers coming into the city, or going out of it, or going from gate to gate, derive a benefit from its presence.

With these two malevolent agencies at work, *the tanks* and *the city ditch*, we need not be surprised when we are told that one year's epidemic destroyed five or six thousand people.

We will look a little further. Amritsar contained at the beginning of the year at least, 150,000 inhabitants. These people live in a city whose length is, as we have said, about a mile and half, and breadth about a mile. Now, were the whole of the city inhabited evenly, and were the population spread over the whole space, they might live comfortably for Orientals on the site of the city. But a great part of the space is taken up with gardens and fields, and tanks and temples. Now the gardens and fields might prove a source of health. But, instead, they are the very hot-beds of disease. They are frequented by all the surrounding inhabitants for the relief of nature. They are frequently irrigated. Hence, the effluvia arising from them is the reverse of aromatic. One very large garden, which is in the midst of a dense population, was until lately a receptacle for drainage. Attention was drawn to it by the writer of this paper on several occasions. During the late rains this garden must have been converted into a lake of the vilest and most murderous kind. This, however, is a digression. The people are huddled together in the populated parts of the city so closely, that there is no room whatever for private latrines. Public latrines are provided, it is true, near to every city gate. But the sick and feeble, and women and children, must of necessity resort to the use of the roofs of the houses. Waterclosets are built, in fact, in corners of the

roofs of respectable houses. But by thousands the roof is simply resorted to. This is not such a monstrous evil as it would seem, for the sun is to a great extent a deodorizer. But, nevertheless, the magnitude of this evil alone is something almost too terrible to contemplate. Still, we must not shrink from our enquiry. The drains leading from these places are in many cases open, running down the wall into the street. Generally, in the best houses, the drains are made of masonry, and go down into the open drain which is on each side, or in the middle, of the street. The roofs, we have said, are made of earth. Hence, when rain falls, they get soaked with the foulest matter. The walls, we have said, were often made of unbaked bricks, or joined with clay instead of mortar. They are invariably plastered with this same earth. Hence, from the roof, the contamination spreads to the walls. They become soddened with death dealing matter. The floor becomes, too, a recipient of all the droppings from the roof, which are sure to fall in the event of the rain being heavy or long continued. Healthy sleep in such a cauldron of filth is impossible. To stay in such a place with the thermometer near a hundred is equally impossible. What must it be, then, when, the rains being over, the sun pours down upon the place, and the temperature of the rooms is raised to a hundred, or perhaps more? The roofs are then used for sleeping on. And we have seen what places they are. The open street is sought. There is no room for beds to stretch into the bazars. Shopkeepers, therefore, often stretch their beds over the open drains and sleep there. Wrapped up from head to foot, they seem like corpses made ready for burial. They do not know how very, very near they are to being what they so closely resemble. What the condition of an invalid must be under the horrible circumstances, we dare not imagine. We do not like to think of women being compelled to exist under such conditions. And yet thousands of mothers and tender daughters live with such surroundings, in nearly every city of India. Except in very rare cases there is no ground attached to a house in the city, where women could recreate themselves. Hence they are obliged to spend the livelong day in these fever holes, for, with roof, walls, and floor in the condition we have described, there is no other name we can give to them.

There are attempts at sanitation. The roofs are swept at stated times. Large boxes are placed in the streets, to which the sweepings are transferred. All this work must, from the nature of things, be done in the day. The boxes are themselves, of course, a dreadful nuisance. Were they in some place where there were not many passers by, it would not matter so much. But lack of space compels them to be put in narrow streets, which are thus made

narrower and more disagreeable and disgusting. Were these receptacles not on legs, and not elevated, so that their contents would be further removed from the nostrils of passers by, it would be better.

The contents of these boxes are removed *during the day* by means of strings of donkeys. These caravans of death wend their way through the crowds frequenting the bazaars, to the utter disgust of every lover of pure air. The amount of evil they must cause is simply incalculable.

The drains, which, as we have said, are all open, are on each side of the bazaars, just under the entrance to each shop. Persons making purchases, therefore, either stand or sit immediately over them. There is no fixed time for the sweeping of these drains. Of course, if disturbed at all, they ought to be swept when the fewest people are about. But, as a rule, the sweepers think that, when other people are at work, they ought to be, and so they generally perform their work during the busiest parts of the day.

Irrespective now of the city tanks and the city ditch, the non-sanitation, or rather the attempts at sanitation are quite sufficient to account for the birth and spread of disease. To suggest any thing here seems hopeless. The people are wedded to their ways. To interfere with them, seems an attempt to break their privacy. But, in fact it would not be so. The women must often expose themselves. We have seen them bathing in an open stream with men close by them. Therefore we have no cause to consider them as an item in the question. But surely some course is open to the municipality. Surely they can sit on house owners. The worst of it is that the municipal body is composed chiefly of householders, and they will not make laws affecting themselves. And for several years there has been no independent European member on the municipal committee. Hence things have gone on pretty much as the Native members wished them to go on. If householders will not provide water-closets, then, of course, roofs will continue to be used, and the boxes will continue. But surely something can be done to put down the carrying of the *night-soil* out of the city in the day time. Some rules are required on this point, stringent to a degree. There should be an inspector of nuisances, a man acquainted with his work, and conscientious in the performance of it. Amritsar has not been without its "*ring*" and its "*jobs*." In this appointment, however, we may hope that the people will be overruled, and that some one will be appointed who will do the work well. The box nuisance should be abolished; there is absolutely no need for it; still less is there any need for

these boxes being elevated. Again, the sweepers should be made amenable to discipline. Were the bazaars empty, they could get on with their work much better than when they are full ; and, of course the frequenters of the bazaars will be only too glad to dispense with the presence of the sweepers, whose touch is to the majority pollution.

We have hitherto said only a few words about each of the evils of Amritsar, tanks, city ditch, and bad sanitation. We now proceed to another, the water-supply. Amritsar depends for its water-supply entirely on its wells. These wells are in all kinds of places. Many are in the middle of the streets. Many are in private houses. Many are in recesses from the street. Others are in places of public resort. Some are used exclusively by Hindus, some by Muhammadans, and some by Sikhs. For drinking water is a test of religion, and no one may tamper with the water of any Punjab religionist. Some wells outside the city have been so made that during the winter the cold fresh water of the Canal may be run into them. This is allowed to settle in the wells, and a little salt is added. Then the wells are closed up until the hot weather comes on. They are generally opened to the public in May, when the air is so hot and stifling. The water in them is then beautiful and cold compared with the water of other wells. The whole city flocks out to them. And water carriers are employed, all day taking large supplies to the city. To meet the religious difficulty, the well is divided into sections at the top by means of wooden partitions which run part way down the well. Each religionist draws out of the section apportioned to his religion. The buckets of the people may touch each other at the bottom. But so long as each man sees his bucket come up his own section, he is satisfied. We are, however, more concerned with the wells of the city than with those outside the city, although our remarks will apply also in some degree to the latter. The Hindus draw water by means of a brass lotah. The Sikhs by means of an iron bucket. The Muhammedans use a leathern bucket for this purpose. Each bucket with its rope is kept at home. When water is required, the bucket or lotah must be taken to the well. Now supposing small-pox or typhoid fever to be raging in a house, and suppose that patients have been handling these water vessels and the cords attached ; whatever contagion there may be on them is conveyed to the well. This very use, then, of separate vessels whereby each man deems his religious sanctity insured, is one of the means of spreading disease, especially in cholera epidemics and in typhoid fever.

But this is not all. The wells are used for the purposes of ablution. Many wells are in such confined places, that there is

barely room for a small circle of masonry round their mouths. In some cases this masonry slopes towards the well, in others it is so worn, that there are large holes in which foul water from the feet of those who draw water, or from the feet and bodies of those who bathe, collects. Some wells, however, have the outer masonry sloping outwards. In the first case, all foul water re-enters the well at once. In the second case, it is easily splashed into the well. And here is a fruitful source of disease undoubtedly. Nothing can be more poisonous than the filth thus conveyed to the drinking water of the people.

This, however, is not all. Most of the wells are built of layers of bricks simply, without mortar or mud at all. Outside many of the wells foul water is allowed to collect. This soaks down into the earth and re-enters the well through the crevices between the bricks. The upper soil is sandy and it easily permits all this.

Besides all this, we must remember that Amritsar has been inhabited now for 400 years or so. The accumulations of filth in olden times must have been very considerable. These have been washed into the soil. So that, when a Norton's tube was sunk near the city in 1869, after the cholera season, it was ascertained that about 200 grains per gallon of deleterious matter existed in the uncontaminated water underlying the city. During that year several wells were ordered to be closed, as their water was so thoroughly foul and deadly. At a distance from the city fair water is obtained, if the well be clean. The writer of this paper has had some experience in wells and well cleaning. In one case a well had been built about 36 years. It had been in constant use for the irrigation of a small farm. When cleaned, about ten years ago, it had in it no less than nine feet of mud and leaves and old shoes, &c., &c., at the bottom! When this was all cleaned out and the water allowed to settle, a foot of mud, which had been suspended in the water during the operation, settled again on the sandy floor of the well. This also was removed, and then the whole of the water of the well was drawn away, until clean water oozed out through the clean sand at the well's bottom. Ever since then the water from this well has been held in high esteem. The well had been level with the ground before, so that every wind that blew carried into it all the leaves and rags and rubbish lying near. After the cleaning, a wall about a yard high was built all round it. In another case a well built by Moharajah Sher Singh, about forty years ago, was subjected to similar treatment. Its waters had been undrinkable for a long time. The reason was plain. The masonry of the well was broken down, so that it was level with the ground, and in some cases below it. The well was much patronised by dhobis and native servants for the purposes of trade and ablution

generally. They stood on the broken masonry and worked. The well was streaked from its mouth to the water level with the marks the dirty water had made trickling down from the well's mouth. This well was attacked. Vast quantities of mud were taken from the well. *The sand under this was black with filth. Through this the water had oozed.* This, too, was taken out. Then the water was taken out, and, after the whole had settled, the water was clean and sweet. It was then used with benefit by all the neighbourhood. As a precautionary measure, the upper masonry was raised about three feet, mortar being used, and the *top was made to slope outwards*, so that no water once taken out of the well could possibly return. Some time ago the wells of the city were cleaned of some of their filth. But it was allowed to lie outside the wells until it had drained itself dry. The job was done by contract, without English supervision. The whole task should be done by machinery. Surely there are dredges in existence that could be used to clean a well without the aid of divers. The method of procedure now in vogue in Amritsar is this: A posse of divers come and arrange ropes round the well. A dish of iron not very deep is then sunk to the bottom of the well. A diver then descends and, after an invocation for protection and assistance from above, he dives down and fills the iron dish with what rubbish he can lay hold of, then, pulling himself to the surface by means of the rope attached to the iron dish, he gets hold of one of the ropes round the well. Meanwhile, those at the top pull up the iron dish and its foul contents. One man, after ten or twelve dives, gets fatigued and ascends: another then takes his place. Each man will, in the course of a day's work, go into the well four or five times. Now surely a dredger would do the work with less risk and in a cleaner fashion. Of course, after the divers have ceased work, the well has to be worked for several days incessantly, so that the foul water may all be taken out. Without proper precaution being taken after the well has been cleaned out, the operation will be of little use; the filth should be at once removed, the wall should be built with mortar at least a yard high above the ground, and the masonry at the mouth of the well should be made to slope outwards. Moreover, it should be ascertained that there is no hollow near the well where foul water can lodge.

Water in the city of Amritsar should cease to be used from all intramural wells and from all outside wells in the vicinity of the city ditch. These must be filled with all kinds of abomination. We understand that some scheme for a water-supply has been proposed for the city. With a large canal, the Baree Doab main canal, running only about three miles away, this would

certainly not be difficult, except in the matter of expense. What is done should be done quickly.

Thus we have seen that there are four active agencies in Amritsar, contributing to the work of mortality. They are the city tanks, the city ditch, the city sanitation or non-sanitation, (what shall we call it?) and the city water-supply. They are quite sufficient to cause all the mortality we have been harrowed with for so many months. When disease once breaks out where no such thing as clear water or fresh air is obtainable, then, we may rest assured, the epidemic will proceed with ever-increasing power and energy. We shall not see the end of this epidemic easily. To end it, every inhabitant of the city must leave it. The tanks must then be deodorized and disinfected. After that they should be filled in. For purposes of bathing a branch canal, or several branch canals, should be taken through the city, and tanks, or bathing-places, should be built in the course of each stream. Every well in the city must be filled up, or thoroughly cleaned out. These are sweeping measures. Well, the epidemic is a sweeping measure. We have to choose between life and death. The people are ignorant of the most obvious sanitary rules. So long as their religious follies and prejudices are unassailed, they are happy. Dirt and death are their fate, and they seem equally reconciled to both.

CHARLES J. RODGERS.

ART. V.—SOME HINDU SONGS AND CATCHES FROM
THE VILLAGES IN NORTHERN INDIA.

PART I.

HAPPILY in these days no apology is needed for introducing into the pages of a sober review such an apparently light and frivolous subject as the songs of the common people. It is more and more becoming recognised, that there is something more to be got from the ideas and notions of the vulgar, as expressed in their tales, songs, catches, sayings, proverbs, and what not, than the mere satisfaction of an idle curiosity or an antiquarian interest; that something more than passing amusement is to be obtained from them by the studious observer, if he seriously try to read between the lines, and that, too, without clouding his vision by attempting to discover in every thing a myth about the sun, or the moon, or the dawn, and all the rest of it. The congress of Orientalists recognises the importance of the study of folklore; societies are formed to gather its facts and to theorise on the results; an eminent firm of French publishers finds it worth while to publish a series of highly scientific volumes devoted entirely to it; grave men of science spend all their days in its study, and scientific periodicals freely open their pages to receive the results of their investigations. The intellect, the acumen, the research, formerly devoted to the study of the writings and monuments of the ancients, are now brought to bear on the sayings and ideas of the vulgar around us. There must be something in all this not accounted for by the satisfaction of theories about the sun and the moon; something that lies deeper; something more practical; something that makes serious men feel that the labour entailed—and it is very great—is worth their while.

There is no doubt that the guiding idea in the movement is that the study of the common folk, that unintelligent mass of every nation that must inevitably be guided by the intelligent few, the study of their notions, their habits, their customs, is the real way to get at their mental condition to understand the ideas that sway them and the prejudices that master them; in fact, to know them, and thus to get at the rudimentary facts—putting it perhaps rather strongly—on which all good government should be based. Here, then, is a noble motive, though the idea is no new one.

In the olden time the power that is in a word was seen and used merely to point a sarcasm, a joke, a story, or a homily, for

temporary purposes only. Later, it began to be seen that something more was to be got out of it, that words had a traceable origin, and, being used to express the ideas of those who framed them, were indicators of their mental capacity; that the vocabulary of a nation, or tribe, as much in its deficiencies as in its fulness, pointed out what manner of people composed it. That voracious reader, Archbishop Trench, hammered away at this idea in many of his books. It is the leading principle of his 'Study of Words,' his 'Select Glossary,' his 'Bible Word-book.' "What riches," quotes he, "lie hidden in the vulgar tongue of our poorest and most ignorant! What flowers of paradise lie under our feet, with their beauties and their parts undistinguished and undiscerned from having been daily trodden on." And again he says, "Language is full of instruction, because it is the embodiment, the incarnation, if I may so speak, of the feelings and thoughts and experiences of a nation, yea, often of many nations, and of all which through long centuries they have attained to and won. The mighty moral instincts which have been working in the popular mind, have found therein their unconscious voice." And if this is true—and true enough it is—of the words of the common folk, how much the more true is it of their lore,—their proverbs, their songs, their catches, their tales? These are the outcome of the common mind, the sure indicators of the state of the popular mental growth. The grosser the popular ignorance, and the narrower the scope of the popular vision, by so much the more abundant is the crop of popular prejudices, by so much the firmer is the belief in them, by so much the wilder are the guesses at the truths the folk-sayings profess to attest? "By its lore shalt thou know a people," might be made a maxim of the first importance to be instilled into the mind of every ruler; and it would hardly be denied that good government must be based on an intimate knowledge of the people governed.

Old Bacon, in his essay on travel, writes: "He that travaileth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school and not to travaile. That young men travaile under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the language and hath been in the country before, whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go. . . . For else young men shall go hooded and look abroad little." And verily a foreign ruler who would rule without a knowledge of the people is one that "goeth hooded." In a country where the ruler is a native, a knowledge of his fellow countrymen is an essential to his good government. But it is also partly inherited. They whom he governs are his own flesh and blood. He is one with

them and shares their inherited prejudices, their language, their ideas, their habits, manners and customs. But here in India we Europeans who govern, are aliens in every sense. We have by descent no one thing in common with the natives. Our inherited thoughts are different ; our religion is different ; our language is different. Even down to the minutest social ideas about daily life, about food, about marriage, about intercourse, we differ from them totally. Any knowledge we may obtain about them, must be acquired patiently and painfully. We can know nothing of them by inheritance, by intuition as it were. It is only by experience and study that the foremost of us can hope to attain that knowledge of them that leads to sympathy with them, to that right appreciation of their modes of thought that enables us to successfully lead them into the paths of life, which we, their rulers, rightly or wrongly consider fit to be followed.

How often is the complaint raised, that a well-meaning magistrate sees clearly what is wanted locally, but cannot induce the better class of natives, and through them the lower classes, to second him in his endeavours at improvement, finding himself thwarted unaccountably at every turn. A deeper enquiry, a clearer insight, would disclose some old-world prejudice, some inherited notion, utterly unreasonable it may be, but none the less powerful for that. An air-way is badly wanted in some overcrowded town : this can be advantageously obtained by the demolition of a few mud-huts ; their value is hardly estimable ; there is nothing to show that any sense of home attaches to them in the eyes of the occupants ; nothing to render them of value as inherited property to the proprietors : a handsome compensation is offered, and even an authority to occupy a fresh and more desirable vacant site is granted. But no : they will have nothing to say to it ; refuse positively to take the new land instead. It is more open, it is healthier, it is more spacious than that delivered up. All this is admitted, but on no account whatever will they remove there. The magistrate is at a loss : he is puzzled, and perhaps angered and resolves to bother himself no further. But the native, he has his reasons all the while. The new place is *sher dahân*, and nothing would induce him to build there. He goes with his friends, and the place is measured, carefully examined and pronounced *sher dahân*, and that is the end of the matter ; building on such a site would be out of the question. The Municipal committee are pressed to ascertain the cause, and a member goes to see into the question. Anxious to please the magistrate, he rated the persons concerned soundly all round, and at last goes to examine the spot himself. The ground is anxiously measured, and, sure enough, it is *sher dahân*. 'Ah, brother,' says he, 'how could

you possibly be expected to build on it?' And then ensues that dogged and silent opposition so well known to every one who deals with the natives of India in an administrative capacity. Now let us examine the question with the light thus thrown on it. *Sher dahān* is 'lion or tiger mouthed,' i. e., in the popular idea, bigger in front than in rear. Every tiger is made so, say the common people. To build on ground that is so circumstanced, or, more strictly, to build a house of such a shape, is wilfully to do a very unlucky thing, as it entails the loss of one's wealth, or of one's family, or perhaps both of these untoward events; even as the house diminishes from front to back, so will your wealth or your family diminish from now to then. Who, then, would build such a house? It is all very silly, but the prejudice is very real, nevertheless, and would account for any amount of 'unaccountable opposition to a useful measure.' I have known a native give up part of a free building site in a cantonment,—and every one knows what a tooth to draw that is to a native,—rather than leave his ground *sher dahān*. Neither Musalmān nor Hindu will have it so.

Again, a woman is found dead in a well, and has apparently been there some days. An enquiry is made, and the police report comes up, that she was the wife of a native living in the neighbourhood, and had been missing for some days. Her friends supposed she had eloped, and she must have fallen into the well accidentally. The Magistrate is not satisfied, and sends a Deputy-Inspector of Police to enquire personally. He comes back with a report equally vague. Then the Magistrate sends his Inspector, but nothing more satisfactory results. The case is filed finally as an accidental death, but the Magistrate resolves to keep an eye on the police officers concerned. Now let us accompany the Police Sergeant when sent to investigate. He enquires and finds that the deceased was the wife of one Paras Rām, who lived in the neighbourhood: that she had been married ten years; that she lived on good terms with Paras Rām; that she was not subject to aches and pains of a severe kind; that she frequented the well in question. Eight days previously she had been missed, and, though nothing clear had been known, yet suspicion fell on Bhagtu, who lived round the corner and had gone away the same day, no one knew where, and though Paras Rām had searched for him, he had not found him. Lastly, a *churel* lived in the well. He enquires no further; that is enough for him; it is all clear as daylight now, so he goes and reports to his Deputy-Inspector what he has found out, and winds up with '*Churel le gayā, bas; aur kyā?*' 'The ghost took her away; that's all: what more could there be?' The Deputy-Inspector is quite satisfied, and so is his superior, the

Inspector ; and, when sent to enquire personally, they do so in a perfunctory way. What further enquiry was there to make ? Now the *churel* is, roughly, the ghost of any Hindu woman who dies in bed, or of any Mahommadan woman who dies in child-bed. The *churel* is very malignant and lives in wells, where her delight is to drag down unfortunates, who come for water, to their destruction. This would be only one more case of it, and ever afterwards no native who knew of the danger, would go, by himself or herself, past that well at night.

Once more, your cow turns sulky and refuses to be milked. You remonstrate severely with your cowherd ; perhaps you oblige him to make up the deficiencies in the milk produced. He talks this over with his friends, your other servants, who all agree that your action is another instance of the unaccountable eccentricity of Europeans. Since it is clear as the day that '*nazar âyâ hai*,' 'the evil eye has come.' Why then come down on the cowherd ? This instance leads us to a point in which, in every day practical life, the individual judgment is called into play, as it is a peculiarity of the untutored mind to be able to thoroughly believe in a superstition, and yet to take advantage of the belief for private ends.

However, the moral of it all is that a real knowledge of the people and their ways of thought is essential to one who would combat them successfully or turn them to useful purposes. Just as a missionary should first learn the religion of a people—which few apparently do—before he attempts to convert and win them from it, so a Magistrate should learn their ways before he can hope to guide and govern them, and at the same time cause that general contentment, which is the sign of good local Government. Any information, therefore, that creates or increases this knowledge, has a practical value that may not be apparent on the face of it. This was the principle recognised by the framers of the rules that guided the first Settlement Reports of India. While gathering information about local proprietary rights and settling the Government rents, they were also to gather all the information procurable about the people, their races, their tribes, their religions and their customs. Unfortunately in this respect the reports are always at their worst : admirably exact as they often are on other points, regarding this they are meagre and loose. A few isolated customs are vaguely reported, and a few scattered paragraphs notice an unusually prominent saint or shrine. There is a list of 'castes,' with a few incorrect remarks about them, and the information about the people comes to an end. It is to be hoped that the tabulation of the results of the late elaborate census will, on the point of castes at any rate, fill up the void

still remaining. A step in the same direction was made when the Punjab Laws Act was passed, and the local tribunals there were directed to judge according to good conscience and the custom of the parties concerned. But this has only led so far to a crop of scattered judgments mainly turning on hereditary rights of sorts. Sir William Jones saw something of the importance of it, when, in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he framed the sentence which now forms the motto of the society: 'The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia, and within these limits its enquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by Nature.' The departmental examination of a young civilian includes a knowledge of the settlement of a district in which he has served. It is therefore apparent that the importance of his personal acquaintance with the people over whom he is placed, is recognised by the governing authorities, and the practical importance I would claim for the study of Indian folklore is, that it leads inevitably, perforce, against one's will, as it were, to a closer knowledge of the people; to a better appreciation of their thoughts; to a clearer understanding of the way in which they should be led.

The ground in India, however, has hardly been opened as yet. It might almost be said that the labour has hardly yet begun in earnest, though names are not wanting to show that there are workers already in the field. Mr. Percival, Mr. Glover, Dr. Caldwell in the south; Mr. Tawney, the late Mr. Damant, Mr. Grierson, Mr. Long, Mr. Dames, Dr. Leitner, Dr. Bellew, have collected tales and notes from widely different regions, from Assam to Afghanistan.

The Rev. Lal Behari Day, at the present writer's suggestion, has, off and on, published folktales from Bengal, in the *Bengal Magazine*, since 1876. These have reached a goodly number, and it is to be hoped that some day they will be presented in an annotated form, in a manner calculated to ensure a wider circulation. Among ladies, Mrs. Steel is still working in the Panjab, Miss Frere and Miss Stokes have given in their quota, and, were one to include times ancient as well as modern, the name of Mrs. Manning would stand most prominent of all. As regards customs, an immense store lies buried all over India in the Settlement Reports; those store-houses of local information that lie sealed to the public, and are available only in a concentrated form in Dr. Hunter's new *Gazetteer*. And lastly, we cannot omit from the category the name of the late Dr. Fallon, perhaps, in this connexion, the greatest of all. The vast accumulation of proverbs and sayings, illustrating popular

notions and national manners, in that queer Dictionary of his, is almost marvellous. It is certainly astonishing to the close student of his book. As one who has frequently had occasion to test the fact, I may safely say that there is not a saying of the Northern Indian Aryan people at all in common use that is not to be found in the book. It is to be regretted that, in his anxiety to present the native mind exactly as he found it, he has been led to admit remarks that cannot but disgust many of his students. But it should be borne in mind that it is hardly possible to present a true picture of the Indian nations without introducing much that offends our more delicate habits of thought. He promised us a collection of 12,000 proverbs culled from his Dictionary, and it is to be hoped that Miss Fallon, who is continuing the publication of his unfinished reversed Dictionary, will find a way to publish these also.

Great as the sum of our present achievements appears to be when they are all added up, they are but the merest beginnings when it is seen how much is to be done before the practical objects above indicated can be said to be even in a measure attained: before a district officer can turn to his books to ascertain the mental condition of those under his charge, even as he can now turn to them for information regarding their rights, their laws and their mode of gaining their daily bread. And yet this is the only goal worth striving for. It is now considered essential that the young civilian still under examination should know the settlement of his district, and the day may come when it will be considered equally essential, that he should know the folklore also. And who will say it is not of equal importance to him, if he would be a just and sympathetic leader? Not that I am an advocate for the extension of examinations, God forbid! I have suffered under the yoke of them too long and frequently for that. Perhaps, if the seniors who settle these things, had suffered a little more in their younger years, they would exhibit a larger pity for the buoyant youth they crush so steadily now. But, to return to our subject, it will be many a long year before such a consummation can be reached, and all that original investigators can hope to do now is to add each his mite, waiting patiently till some master-hand shall be in a position to gather all the scattered threads together and present them in an intelligible and useful shape to a more fortunate generation. It is in this spirit that I now present these few songs and catches from villages in the North-West Provinces, the Himalayas and the Panjab.

This is not the place for disquisitions on grammar and accuracy of renderings; so I will here confine myself to giving metrical

renderings of the songs collected, in which I have endeavoured to give not only the form but the spirit of the originals. Those who may wish to test my renderings, will find the originals, with full notes, in the pages of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the current year.

The songs were all collected in the Panjab and the hills of Kânga and Chambâ, but some of those found to be current in the Eastern Panjab are so obviously of Pûrbiâ origin from their language, that I have had no hesitation in classing them as from the North-West Provinces. They will be classified according to their import, and their origin will be sufficiently designated by simply stating at the foot whence they were obtained. They differ exceedingly in length, from songs of several verses to mere catches of a single rhyme, proverbs almost: and in poetical value from a high order of popular poetry to silly doggrel. They touch upon widely different subjects, but principally on religion, love, and home customs. Some of them are of a strictly local character. They are all exceedingly interesting, as indications of the working of the popular mind on the three most important subjects that go to make up the practical daily life of every inhabitant of the civilised world.

To take first the songs about religion;—those actually relating to religious sentiment exhibit an under current of monotheism and fatalism in the popular Hindu religion of the day, having apparently little or no reference to the outward Brahmanical form of ritual, still so powerful and universal. This is, no doubt, due to the influence of the Bhagats, or free-thinking reformers of the Indian middle ages, among whom Kabîr in the north, Nâmdev in the west, and, we might almost add, Gurû Nânak in the Panjab, played so prominent a part. The points of the reformation seem to have been the abolition of caste and of puerile ritual, and the assertion of religious equality, while idolatry and pantheism were especially assailed. The result has been apparently to create a dual religion, as it were. The idolatry, the caste system, the outward pantheism, the ritual, have all remained, but with them there has lived on, as it were, a secret monotheism and a toleration of any form of religion merely as such. The North Indian Hindu peasant's religion seems to be outwardly Brahmanical, as shown in his religious customs and his ritual; inwardly monotheism, clouded by a thick haze of superstition and tempered by fatalism, as exhibited in his religious sayings, proverbs, catches, and songs. The form of affirmation we administer in our Courts, "*Main apne Parmeshar ko hâzir nâzir jânke, &c.*" "I, knowing my own God to be present and all-seeing," does fairly represent

the form a general oath should take. The Sanskrit components of *Parmeshar* are *parama*, supreme, and *is'wara*, ruler : so, in its essence, the word means the Supreme Ruler, which is its approximate sense now, and "God" is a good translation for it. I have given a frequent rendering "God" in these songs. In the originals the word is sometimes "*Râm*," sometimes "*Parmeshar*," sometimes "*Swâmi*," sometimes "*Bhagwân*," sometimes even "*Allah*"; but I am prepared to do battle, if need be, for the rendering "God" as the correct one for the contexts. The religious attitude of the ignorant Hindu peasant—to risk a comparison which may seem odious to some—is comparable with that of his equally ignorant Christian brother in Europe among the more ritualistic Christian churches. The Christian has his saints, who must be propitiated, his holy water, his pilgrimages, his thousand and one queer superstitious customs ; but he has his "God" under it all, though often, perhaps, but very dimly understood ; for which the Hindu substitutes his pantheon, his saints, his bathings, and his peculiar customs, while through them looms the dim image of his Supreme Ruler and his fatalism. I think, moreover, it can be abundantly proved by their folklore that the mass of the Mahommedans, especially of the lower classes, differ in religion from their Hindu compatriots only in their outward forms. The superstitions of both are practically the same, which involves the proposition that their mental, as distinguished from their formal, religious attitude is identical.

Here is a song from the Panjab which well illustrates all the peculiarities above alluded to :—

There came a Brahman to my door,
Bearing glad tidings of good news.

The Brahman took the Scriptures up,
The good news in them read.
And while I sat there hearing him,
Lo ! all my cares had fled.

Alas ! the achings men have borne
To satisfy the mind,
And in the end have heartsick died
With eyes from watching blind.

Disguised in holy Brahman's form
Was he who came to me :
Prone at his holy feet I fell
Heart-glad and joyeously.

They call him Brahman that is wise,
And lives as Brahman should,
That worships Him who is alway
With those whose lives are good.

They call Him God, the ever good,
That is by nature so,
That counts as worship love alone,
And not the outward show.
Never a son's son had Muhammad,
But only a daughter's son.
Fate's law is just : it heeded not
Even this favored one.
Whate'er is written in your fate,
E'en now is at your side :
As milk is ready at the breasts
E're yet the babe has cried.
Muhammad has lived and 'Ali,
Beloved by Him that's blessed :
But in the end they, too, were dead
And buried like the rest.

Panjab.

I note this song as from the Panjab, but the language abundantly proves it to be an importation from Hindustan proper. The word for God in it is 'Allah :'

*Allā, Allā, karat hain,
Jo zāt uskī hai pāk !
Bind prem rījhe nahīn,
Jo ghīs-dāro sab nāk.**

Are the more remarkable words in it, rendered the more so by the song being given me by a Brahman, as a Brahman song. The opening verses are entirely Brahmanical—

Bahman bāche patīkā :
The Brahman reads the Scriptures

could not be twisted into any thing Muhammadan. But the allusion to 'Allah' as God, and the closing verses are almost entirely Muhammadan, and it seems to me that the gist of the song supports the theories above propounded as to the mental religious attitude of the common folk.

The idea of a single God, so strongly indicated in the above song, is again to be seen in the following, from the Panjab. The first is in Panjabi, pure and simple, and is a Sikh song.

Repeat alway the Name of God
To whom thou hast to go ;
And do thy duty with thy might :
The fruit thou reapest so.

Panjab.

* *lit.* Though you rub away your whole nose. The allusion is to the Muhammadan method of praying by touching the ground with the face.

The point is, without love, he is not pleased, however excessive the outward form may be !

The next two are in Hindi, and are Hindu songs—

Who will take away my pain, but Thou ?
Who will take away my pain, but Thou ?
I come a poor sinner to Thy gate,
Bringing nought but poverty with me.

Panjab.

Who hath found the secret of the Lord ?
Though all his life he spent upon the search.
For the sake of the Lord, my friend,
The whole world hath been lost :
Saints and prophets for Him have searched
To count their lives the cost.

Panjab.

Another from Kangra is to the same effect—

The parrot in the mango tree,
The starling in the hedge below,
Pours forth his melody of song
His careless happiness to show.
So do ye to the mighty God
Your hymns of thankfulness upraise,
For the great night is passing long
And short the measure of your days !
Come, parrot, to my tempting cage ;
I've rice and sweetest milk for thee :
Come, starling, too, and pipe thy song
For choicest butter-cakes from me.

Kangra.

In the original the above song is so condensed that I have been forced to paraphrase it freely, and as in so doing, one is very liable to misrepresent, I give the original also—

*Ambe dāliyā totā bole ; mainā bole bārhiyān.
Bhajo Ramji : din thore, rātin bariyān.
A, mere toto, bāh-jā pinjren, motiyān chog chugāniyān.
Tote jo * main dudh-bhāt dinnān ; mainā jo* chāriyān*

These are capped by another catch from the Panjab.

He who made the parrot green,
And made the raven black,
His many hues the peacock gave,
The swan his snow-white back :
That gave to each his separate song,
Is the only God and true.
If you but work here honestly,
His reward will be to you.

Panjab.

In the original the words of the song are unequivocal.

*Uh swāmi ik satt hai,
Ate kūrā sabh sansār.*

* Jo in the Kangra dialect of Panjabi equals Hindi *ko* : *tote jo*, to the parrot.

He who made the parrot green, and so on, is the one true Lord, and the whole earth is false. Now the above is a *tuk*, which in the Panjab means a recognised religious catch, one that every body knows well, as a matter of course. The way in which *tuks* are sung is this. A small crowd of villagers are listening to a musician droning through one of his interminable songs. The singer has had enough of it for the time and is out of breath. Some one perceives this and calls out '*Tuk bol*,' 'Sing us a *tuk*,' whereupon one of the company,—any one present can do it,—shouts a prolonged '*He !!!*' and starts off with a '*tuk*,' to give the singer time. The mere fact of the above being a *tuk* proves the universal recognition of the sentiment contained in it.

To turn to the second prominent feature of the popular Indian religious attitude, fatalism. It intrudes itself everywhere, and often in words that are merely mutations of the same sentence, the same idea presented in different settings. The proverbs, the sayings, the songs, are full of it. Fallon's pages teem with illustrations of it, all turning on the central idea, "*anhonî hotî nahîn, aur honî howanhâr*," 'what is not to be is not, what is to be is being ;' backed up by the oft-asserted and undeniable fact that, after all, the mightiest of our forefathers 'only had their day ;' lived, fought, struggled and planned, and after it all, when their lives are summed up, there is little more to be said than that they lived, and they died like the rest.

Sometimes the idea of a single God is mixed up with that of an absolute Fate ; witness two *tuks*—

He who repeats the one True Name,
Holds a fruitful charm and great :
Men make a thousand plans and die,
But fulfilment lies with Fate. *Panjab.*

If thou evadest Fate's decree,
It will not pass away from thee,
Tyrants there have been who fought it,
But they only had their day :
God kills the wicked but to save them,
And the saints He keeps alway,
If thou evadest Fate's decree
It will not pass away from thee. *Panjab.*

However, the prevailing note of the songs is a firm belief in the vanity of all things earthly, and in the absolute rigidity of fate. We find exhibited "a deep sense of man's weakness, inspiring a contented pessimism, born of perennial disappointment : childhood without impulse, youth without ambition, age without hope."

Alas ! there is no confidence in this life :—
Alas ! there is no confidence in this life :
It comes and it comes not : it comes and it comes not.
Alas this life ! *Kangra.*

You must go hence, you cannot stay :

This world is all untrue.

'What your lines show you will receive,'

Is Fate's decree to you.

Tuk : Panjab.

What is to be is even now :

What's not to be could never be :

Still parents plan the fond desires

Their children's children will not see.

Tuk : Panjab.

No account of what we may call the 'personal religion' of the Hindus would be complete without reference to the curious worship of the 'Name of God.' God (*Râm*), they say, is great, but the name of God (*Nâm*. *Râm Nâm*, or *Râm kâ Nâm*) is greater. There is abundant evidence of this in the songs. We have already had :—

'Repeat always the Name of God,

To whom thou hast to go.'

The original of which runs as follows :—

'*Tân bhoj lai Râm dâ Nâm,*

Jithe tain jânâ hai.'

These words admit of no double translation and are plain and clear. In a song given later, a hermit or saint (*jogi*) reads a homily to a young girl who comes to see him, and in it the 'Name of God' occurs three times as the object of worship. Thus she is bidden : *Simro nit Bhagwân kâ Nâm*, 'Call always on the 'Name of God,' and again, '*Jupâ karo Bhagwân kâ Nâm* 'Keep on repeating the Name of God.' She herself says once '*Kaho, to lûn Bhagwân kâ Nâm,*' 'Say, and I will take the Name of God.' One of the *tuks* I have given above, is translated thus :—

'He who repeats the One True Name

Holds a fruitful charm and Great.'

The original words are :—

'*Satt Nâm ik mantar hai,*

Jape soî phul pâe.'

Here we have '*Nâm*,' 'the Name,' by itself, with the epithet *satt*, true. It is the Name, the True Name, the Name of God, that is the charm that will reward him who repeats it. Lastly, a song, which belongs properly, however, to formal religion, treated of later on, shows clearly the relative position of *Nâm* and *Râm* in the popular estimation. In some parts of India, Kangra for instance, the first of *Chait* (March-April) in the place of the first of *Baisâkh* (April-May) is New Year's Day, when it is the custom for *dôms* (musicians) to go from house to house singing songs in its honour. It is very unlucky for any one to mention the day until the *Dôm* has mentioned it. It is also a custom to dedicate the first spring flower seen on a tree to *Nâm* and the second

to Râm. Both these customs are exhibited in the Dôm's New Year's song :—

The first of flowers for thee, O Name !
 The second, Râm. for thee.
 The first of Chait brings luck to him
 That hears it first from me.
 O Krishna of the turban gay
 With jewels fair to see,
 Do thou live on a thousand years
 With thy posterity !*

Kangra.

The more important words in the original are—

Pahilâ phuljî tân Nâen kâ !
Dâjâ nâm Nârâyanâ.

which, translated literally, mean

The first flower thine, O Name !
 The second name Nârâyan.

Observe the canonization, '*phuljî*,' of the first spring flower and the personification of The Name? I am not prepared to explain the origin of this cult, which, however, is nothing new. It may have its origin in the fact that Râm, with whom Nâm is now especially associated, was an incarnation of Vishnu, to repeat whose thousand names (*Sahasra-nâma*) was an act of virtue from all time. That Vishnu himself was long ago connected with 'The Name' is shown by his Sanskrit epithets of *Nâmi* and *Nâma-nâmika*.

Hitherto we have been dwelling on indications of the mental religion of the Northern Indians, but ritual or formal religion necessarily occupies such a large portion of the popular attention everywhere, that it has in all parts of the world—as it could not fail to do—given rise to some of the grandest efforts of popular poetry. Such a one is to be found in that very unlikely place, Dr. Fallon's Dictionary.† It is so fine, that I cannot help rescuing it from the corner of one of his pages and presenting it to the public in a more readable form. Every one knows that the pilgrim women dip nine times in the Ganges, as a 'good work' towards salvation. When doing so, the Pûrbiâ rustics sing the following :—

GANGA KE NAU JHAKOLE.

Râdhâ ‡ piyâri he !
Lenâ jhakole thande nâr ke !

* An explanation of the mixture of the legends of Râma and Krishna will be found later on.

† Article *جھاکولہ* *jhakolâ*.

‡ The worship of Râdhâ is connected properly with that of Krishna, whose mistress she was. Here she is

mixed up with Râma. An instance of this mixed worship of Râma and Krishna has already occurred in these songs, and an explanation of it will be found under a late song, where it again occurs.

*Râm ! Jamnâ se, Gangâ pare,
Aur bîch buhe daryâo.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Pahlâ jhakolâ mere Râm kâ,
Jin yeh sarish: upât.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Dûjâ jhakolâ mere bâp kâ,
Jin mândhâ chharâyâ.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Tijâ jhakolâ merî mâtî kâ,
Jin bojh-marî das mâtî.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Chauthâ jhakolâ mere bîr kâ,
Ham upje ek odâr.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Pâñchwân jhakolâ mere bahan kâ,
Jin god khilâi.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Chhatâ jhakolâ mere sasur kâ,
Jin biyâhe do dal jor.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Sâtwan jhakolâ mere sâs kâ,
Jin saunp diyâ ghar bâr.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Athwan jhakolâ mere jeth kâ,
Jin bânî lîyâ ghar bâr.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

*Nawân jhakolâ mere purakh kâ,
Jin lîe the sir dhar mor.*

Râdhâ piyârî he !

While being an earnest admirer of the immense research exhibited in the Dictionary, no one can more deeply deplore than the present writer the execrable and inaccurate doggerel in which Dr. Fallon has chosen to translate his quotations and the frequently infelicitous choice of his illustrations themselves, but in this instance he has risen to the occasion and given a translation as admirable as the song itself—

THE NINE DIPS IN THE GANGES.

*Râdhâ beloved, I pray,
Blessed be my dip this day.*

The Jamnâ hither lies, O Râm,
Beyond does Ganges flow,
Between them glide the waters calm
To dip in them I go.
Râdhâ, beloved, I pray !

To Râma first, our women's pride,
Who made me and can save,
I plunge my head beneath the tide
A blessing while I crave.

Râdhâ beloved, I pray !

My second dip's my father's claim,
Who gave me house and store ;
The third is in my mother's name,
Who ten months travailed sore.

Râdhâ beloved, I pray !

My next my darling brother hath,
Whom with me one womb bare ;
Then darling elder sister that
Nursed me with tender care.

Râdhâ beloved, I pray !

Sixthly, my husband's sire, for thee,
Who both clans gathered near,
Our houses joined by taking me,
I dip in water clear.

Râdhâ beloved, I pray !

Next is my husband's mother's due,
For me the house resigned ;
The eighth his elder brother's who
Half his to us assigned.

Râdhâ beloved, I pray !

Last, though not least, for thee, my pride,
To whom my joys I owe,
I plunge my head beneath the tide,
My grateful love to show.

Râdhâ beloved, I pray !

Unfortunately none of the songs I have succeeded in collecting rise to any thing like so high a level as this, and, as they relate to customs of a diverse character, they can only be presented in a somewhat disconnected form. Here is a common-place little catch, sung by pilgrims to the sacred streams :—

To-day must I bathe in the Ganges ;
To-day must I bathe in the Jamnâ :
Bathe in the Ganges ;
Bathe in the Jamnâ ;

To-day must I bathe in the Sarju. *Panjab.*

There is a song, or rather hymn, sung on the occasion of a birth in a family, that is worthy of record and is fine in its way. It came to me from Kangra, but, excepting two dialectic words in it, the language is Hindi, and it is more than probably an importation from Oudh. The custom is, whenever a birth occurs in a house for *dôms* and musicians, such as *hijras*,* and other

* Eunuchs, who go about the Pan- births, &c. Their fee is usually a jab and North-West Provinces dress- rupee. They appear to be dying ed up as women, generally not less out ; at least, all I have seen are than three together, with a drum, and old people. earn a living by attending weddings,

harpies, who scent a fee on these occasions, to collect there and sing congratulatory songs. It is wonderful how these people scent out a birth, so much so, that I have thought of employing them as registration agents. About the commonest and best known song, which is also rather inappropriately sung at weddings, is that here given. It is spirited and curious, and bears a resemblance in more ways than one to our own Christmas hymns. It describes the birth of Râma Chandra, the great hero and incarnation of god (Vishnu), *the* god, in fact, of many parts of India, and god *par excellence* in the Sikh theology.* His earthly father was the celebrated King Dasaratha, now known popularly as Jasrat Rai, and his mother was Kausalyâ. The song describes the birth as according to the usual modern customs. The child Râm Chandar is born; Jasrat Rai, and Kausalyâ are delighted; the nurse takes and washes him; the barber comes (as is proper) to plant fresh *dûb* grass for luck, while his wife summons the neighbours. The child's old grand-aunt brings him his first clothes, as is also proper and right, since it brings luck; his aunt is the first to hold him in her arms, and last, but not least, his father distributes presents to the poor, while the family priest comes prowling round for his dues. The name of the aunt, however, is Subhâdrâ. Now Subhâdrâ was never the aunt of Râma Chandra, but the sister of Krishna, the great god of so many of the Hindus, and also an incarnation of Vishnu. Here, then, we have another instance of what is so common and puzzling in modern Hindu folklore, the mixture of classical legends. I have previously given two songs, which also mix up the stories of Râma and Krishna. The confusion may have arisen thus: both are 'God' and both favorite subjects of song: and besides there were three Râms, all supposed to be incarnations of God. They lived evidently in different ages, and probably in the following order. Parasu Râma, axe Râm, root-and-branch Râm, the champion of the priests (Brahmans) against the warriors (Kshatriyas); Râma Chandra, gentle Râm: and Bala Râma, strong Râm, brother and companion of Krishna. Bala Râma and Râma Chandra have probably been mixed up in popular songs, and there is nothing unlikely in this. It is a simple mess compared with some the bards have got into. The song runs thus:—

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right gladly now comes forth the nurse to bathe his father's pride,
And smiling sleeps Kausalyâ now, Râm Chandar by her side.

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right ladly doth the barber gay, plant fresh grass in the ground,
And smiling goes the barber's wife to call the neighbours round.

* Vide Adi Granth. Trumpp's translation *passim*.

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay ;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right gladly doth the grand-aunt bring a coat and head-dress meet,
And smiling doth Subhâdrâ take and kiss her nephew sweet.

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay ;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right gladly doth king Jasrat Rai gives gifts to them that need,
And smiling now the house-priest comes to take his custom'd meed.
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day ;
O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay.

Kangra.

A short little semi-religious catch from Kangra illustrates incidentally the hill men's notions of conjugal obedience. A girl goes to a temple to pray, but the god says he will not listen till she has learnt to obey her husband. She goes away and presently returns and sings—

Hark ! I have learnt obedience to my lord,
Forgive me now my sins for my reward.

Kangra.

One of the prettiest and most widely-spread customs in North India is the swinging in *Sâwan* (July-August), when the rains are usually at their height, in honor of Krishna and Râdhâ. It is done for luck apparently, much as our Christmas pies are eaten, and seems to have no ulterior object. Every one who wishes to be lucky during the coming year must swing at least once during *Sâwan*. Like most customs of this sort, it is confined almost entirely to women and children, whose swings may be seen hanging from the branches of trees in every garden and along the road sides, by villages, bazaars, and dwellings. Connected with this is the Doll Fair (*Gurion kâ melâ*) carried on during the whole month of *Sâwan*, and with the same object of procuring good luck in the future. Customs differ in various parts as to the manner of conducting the fair, but in Kangra every man, woman and child goes at least once to the river side during the month wearing a doll at the breast. The visit to the river side must be on a Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday, and must have been previously fixed on by a kind of private promise or vow. Arrived at the river the doll is thrown in, and the superstition is, that, as the doll is cooled by the water, so the mind will be cooled (eased) by the action during the coming year. There is a song sung on these occasions by the children, having allusion to the advent of the wagtails as a sign of the time for the Doll Fair having arrived. It is also sung in the *Sâwan* swings :—

Fly, fly the wagtails so :
Mother, 'tis the rainy month ;
Mother, 'tis the rainy month,
Yes, my darling, mother O.

Fly, fly the wagtails so ;
 Mother, we must go and swing ;
 Mother, we must go and swing,
 Yes, my darling, mother O.

Kangra.

Of course, so prominent a custom could not escape Dr. Fallon, and he has two allusions to it: one of them* he translates *more suo* in a way that makes one shudder.

"August is come and *thj* is come,
 The swing just put up now, Ma !
 Gay cords of colors five now dye
 And twist for us dear Ma !"

The other song he notices is really pretty for a rustic one, and to it he appends, as usual, one of his halting renderings. I give it in the vernacular, and have been tempted to translate it in my own way into verse. For who is not tempted to improve on Dr. Fallon who reads him? Those who wish to read the original rendering will find it in the Dictionary under *jhulna* (جھولنا).

Piyâ hote, tan main kham garâtî ;
Saiyân hote, tan dorî mangâtî ;
Shauk rang ab mujhe chândrî kaun rangâ de ?
Kaho ! jhûlâ jhûlân main kis rang ?
Kaho ! pag jorân main kis sang ?
Merî birhâ jalât umang, mere piyâ ko kaun bulâ de ?

O had my love been here, a swing-frame had been mine ;
 Were but my husband near, swing ropes he would entwine ;
 But who is with me now, a bright gay dress to dye ?
 With whom, foot pressed to foot, could I in concert swing ?
 O say, how could I now enjoy the pleasuring ?
 They kill my joys to-day who bring not my love nigh.

One little song illustrates the frequent Indian spectacle of a wife going to the village temple to pray for a son, but the most important point to be noticed in it is the way in which the 'God' is spoken of. Here he is evidently the idol, the concrete personal God,—the saint as he would be termed in the Greek and Roman Catholic churches—a being very different from the shadowy Almighty Ruler of the songs first quoted.

Mahâdev is angry, dear,
 And wants a little kid :
 When you've soothed his anger down,
 He'll do as you may bid.
 If you want a little son,
 Soothe him now, my beauteous one !

Chamba.

The capacity of the superstitious mind to take worldly advantage of its own superstitions, while believing in them, has been

before alluded to. It is not confined to India, and it would be hard to say that the Italian brigand, who is notoriously superstitious, does not believe in priestly absolution, because he would be quite alive to the advantages of getting it cheap. This state of things, of course, leads to all kinds of satire, and the ironical ballad, which tells of a highway murderer—brigand they say in Europe, dacoit and thug we call him here—in Italy settling the price of absolution with a priest as a matter of business.

Let's see ! five crimes at half-a-crown
Exactly twelve and six.

has probably more truth in it than one would suppose at the first blush, though it would be no proof against the firm belief of both parties in the efficacy of the absolution granted. This peculiar condition of the mind is thoroughly understood by the common folk in India, though its recognition has not apparently affected the belief in the superstitions involved, except among the educated and more thoughtful of the men (for the entire mass of the women of whatever class may be fairly classed as among the ignorant.) An average native will still allow his wife to visit the neighbouring shrine, ostensibly for worship, though all his songs and sayings abundantly teach him that there is no more fruitful source of intrigue and domestic mischief. As to the women, poor things, many of them are only too glad of the outing, and while, no doubt, they religiously perform their worship, or vow, or whatever it is, they amuse themselves *en route*, and, if there is an intrigue, then is the opportunity.

Bedecked she goes to worship Mahâdev ;
Bedecked she goes to worship Mahâdev :
Her cakes of oil she offers Mahâdev ;
Her cakes of oil she offers Mahâdev :
Her butter-cakes she offers to her love.

Kangra.

This was given me as from Kangra, but it is in pure Hindi, and so must be an importation. I have reason to believe it to be generally known. The point is that the girl has two kinds of cakes for the god : '*tel kî kachaurî*', oil cakes, nasty and particularly indigestible things, and '*ghê kî kachaurî*,' butter-cakes, pleasant and wholesome food. However, in the end the god gets the oil and her lover the butter-cakes, and it is to see him, not the god, that she goes '*chama chama*,' 'tinkle tinkle,' as the song says : '*chama*' is the noise caused by the anklet bells in a native girl's holiday dress.

Another song illustrates the same idea, though describing a separate custom. Known all over the Panjab, among the lower classes especially, there is a very celebrated saint called Guggâ

This Guggâ was a Râjpût hero who stemmed the invasions of Mahmûd of Ghazni and died, like a true Râjpût, in defence of his country, but by the strange irony of fate he is now a Saint, worshipped by all the lower castes, and is as much Musalman as Hindu. About Kangra there are many small shrines in his honor, and the custom is, on the fulfilment of any vow made to him, for the maker thereof to collect as many people as he or she can afford, for a small pilgrimage to the shrine, where the party is entertained for some days. Such women as are in search of a holiday frequently make use of this custom to get one: witness the following—

Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ :
 Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ.
 Sitting by the roadside and meeting half the nation,
 Let us sooth our hearts with a little conversation,
 Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ.

Kangra.

Somewhat to the same purport is an amusing, though in the original somewhat coarsely worked out song from the Panjab, but again in Hindi, pure and simple. A girl goes to a hermit (*jogi*) evidently for amusement only, but in the end she has to sit down and listen to a regular sermon from the old man. The 'theology' of the sermon, it will be perceived, supports the idea of the Hindu mental conception of a single God, this time in the original called *Bhagwân*, the Blessed.

Maiden.—Body and soul intent on things above,
 Pray how can such as you know ought of love ?

Hermit.—Out skittish beauty ! Such as you, my dear,
 Disgrace the hermit you may chance to near.

Maiden.—To pay a visit to your Holiness
 Is all I wanted, neither more nor less.

Hermit.—In beauteous garb you come with accents sweet :
 Are these then offerings for a hermit meet ?

Maiden.—Why not believe ? I came for nothing more
 Than to learn something of your sacred lore.

Hermit.—Then, sit you here and take a little rest,
 And call always upon the Name that's blest

Maiden.—Bah ! He's like all men in this world so blind :
 Just when one wants, they never will be kind.

Hermit.—Each of us wants what in his way may fall,
 And no one seeks the common good of all.
 Have patience, and be all your life the same,
 Calling always on the Blessed Name :
 For in the end to Him you surely go,
 And none will save you in this world of woe.
 Forget Him not and keep Him in your mind ;
 For this was reason given to our kind.
 All here are strangers, no one is a friend :
 This world's a dream that soon is at an end.
 Let duty be you comrade at the day
 When the end comes and Death calls you away.

Panjab.

I give the words of the homily in the vernacular, so that the reader may judge for himself of the value of the translation.

*Jogî.—Jo dekhe sab hain matlab ke :
 Koî nahîn kâam âve sab ke.
 Dhîraj kar, tum karo yeh kâam,
 Japâ karo Bhagwân kâ Nâm.
 Orak uske nikat hî jânâ.
 Kisî ne nahîn is jag men bachânâ.
 Mat bhûlo, tum kar-lo sudh,
 Isî kî kâran milî hai budh.
 Sab begâne, koî nahîn apnâ ;
 Yeh jag sârâ rain kâ sapnâ.
 Jo karnî kar-lo, hai sangî,
 Dât jab â-pakregâ Frangî.*

Dât Frangî, which literally means 'the English messenger,' used for the 'Messenger of Death' is a notable expression and is an indirect compliment to the overwhelming power of the English in India. It is not an isolated instance of the use of the word '*Frangî*' or '*Angrezî*' to mean the all-powerful, e. g., *Angrez Bahâdur kî dâhât*, 'I claim the protection of the all-powerful ;' 'I throw myself on the mercy of the English' is a common phrase. And again '*kaid Frangî*,' 'English imprisonment,' is used for imprisonment from which there is no escape, imprisonment that must be gone through.

The next subject that claims our attention is love, the unfailing source of song all the world over. The prevailing features of the 'educated' Indian love song are far-fetched conceits, vapid exaggerations and conventional similes, accompanied often with a prurient indecency that our most fleshly poet would shrink from attempting. I think there can hardly be a doubt as to the extremely low ebb of the prevalent exotic poetry of the *litterati* of Northern India. It has scarcely a redeeming point, and, except indeed in so far as it rhymes aptly, runs smoothly, and is frequently ingenious and clever, it can hardly be called poetry at all. It is shocking to think that such empty nonsense can be read and enjoyed by the educated of a nation. Happily, however, it has not penetrated to the unlettered and ignorant, who in India, as elsewhere, prefer a vigorous idiomatic rhyme, however unpolished, which they can understand and which appeals to their hearts, touches on their every day life and feelings and makes sometimes honest fun and sometimes poetry out of the commonest objects around them. The lettered, who despise Nazir, because he wrote about mosquitoes, have fortunately no influence on the rustic poets of their country, who give us more genuine poetry in one of their straightforward manly catches than can be found in a page of one of the emasculated jingles, playing upon mere words, which their polite writers call poetry and which the educated

profess to admire. I have not yet come across one 'moon-face' or one 'rose-body' in all the real village songs I have seen; nor, thank heaven, have I seen one instance of the 'saffron-hues,' or the 'incense-laden air,' or the 'bed of rose leaves,' or the 'honied conversation,' which seem to be considered necessary in polite 'description.' In rustic verse the maidens are not 'rose-bodied,' but pretty, the children are not 'pearls' or 'tulips' or 'suns' or 'moons,' but boys and girls, the people do not feast on the whole range 'of the 36 dishes,' but eat cakes and bread and drink water or wine, and the lovers talk uncompromising love not inane similes. However, it is not to be inferred that the village love-songs are free from all faults of exaggeration: they would not be native if they were, and we still find people fainting with love at first sight, and so on, though they do it in plain language. Many of the songs, too, are silly and insipid.

Two of the features of Indian exotic and home poetry make it difficult in these days to present it in an English dress. The first of these is the plainness of the vernacular still in use among the natives. A spade is called a spade with a directness which shocks us Europeans now, and allusions are made to things and facts as a matter of course, which we never speak of now-a-days, though our fathers did so not very long since without a blush. In the time of Chaucer it would have been easy to translate directly and accurately any thing we now find current in India. The task would not have been difficult in Shakespeare's day, nor later, in the days of Swift; even Fielding's readers would not have been shocked at Indian songs we should not care to read now, and if we did, we should be liable to misinterpret them. Dr. Fallon, in his anxiety to present the native mode of thought and the expression of it exactly as it is, has boldly rendered over and over again this plain language word for word, but I doubt if in the majority of cases he has succeeded in anything beyond disgusting his readers. The natural, and in many instances—as shown by the public criticism on his work—the lasting impression conveyed may be expressed in homely phrase, 'What dirty beasts these natives are!' A translator of native folklore who would avoid wounding susceptibilities which, however unreasonable, are real enough, cannot but omit much that would instruct, and cannot but run the risk of a mere partial representation of the real state of the case by softening down what he cannot avoid. Though expressions which are offensive to us will not be found in these songs, I do not wish it to be inferred even that they are not of frequent occurrence, much less that they do not exist in the originals.

The second feature that renders translation difficult is the

complete difference in the relation of the sexes to each other as regards love and marriage in India from those in England. In India the marriage is invariably one of convenience, and natural love and regard has nothing to say to it. There is no such thing as love before marriage, that is, as regards the *shādî* or *beāh*, the original and real marriage: the marriages subsequent to the original, such as the *chādar dālnā* or *karewā*, are on an entirely different footing, and are cursed with the social ban. This state of things has had an immediate effect on the folk songs, and as a matter of fact nearly all of them refer to a love that is illegitimate; as indeed, spontaneous love between the sexes in India must be.

Some of the songs, however, are pure and pretty enough to be admitted into any collection. For instance, this from Kangra:—

But while the sun is burning so,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
O how can we our journey go,
Though all my love is thine?

Be thou the horse and I the cart,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Going together when we part;
For all my love is thine.

Thy fond girl's beauty to proclaim,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Be thou the glass and I the frame;
For all my love is thine.

So blooming by the garden walk,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Be thou the flower, I the stalk;
For all my love is thine.

Mixed in the druggist's shop so nice,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Be thou the essence, I the spice;
For all my love is thine.

Kangra.

The above may be called an adaptation rather than a translation as the similes hardly admitted of exact rendering. I have endeavoured, however, to retain the precise spirit of it. In the original, which I give here for those to compare with the metrical rendering who may care to do so, the antitheses are finely preserved by the near connexion between the things the girl compares herself to and those to which she compares her lover; while all the words for him are, by the arbitrary gender of the vernacular, masculine and for her are feminine.

Dhāp pat tar tikhnī,
Rāe Mamoluwā bo,
Kihān karī handanī bāt ?
Merā man tan liyā bo.

Tum ghorā, ham pālkt,
Rāe Mamoluwā bo,
Chalī rahnge iktiyo sāth :
Merā man tan liyā bo.

Tum sisā, ham ārst,
Rāe Mamoluwā bo,
Bant rahndī goriyā den hāth :
Merā man tan liyā bo.

Tum champā, ham mālīt,
Rāe Mamoluwā bo,
Khare rahnge iktiyo bāgh (? sāth) :
Merā man tan liyā bo.

Tum lōng, ham ilāyacht,
Rāe Mamoluwā bo,
Bikge Pausāriye den hāt :
Merā man tan liyā bo.

Kangra.

Bright and pretty as is this song, another from the Kāngrā Hills shows as pure and pleasing a picture of a Hindu wife, who there appears as loving and dutiful as one could wish her to be—

O sweetly called the cuckoo up in the mango tree :
 Sweet cuckoo of the gardens, hark, O cuckoo, unto me.
 Many a year I've waited for husband coming to day :
 Where are sweetest herbs for him ? O kindly cuckoo, say.
 Father I'll ask, and mother I'll ask, and then I'll go
 To where in greenest gardens the sweetest herbs do grow.
 Father and mother-in-law I'll ask, and then I'll go
 To where the sweetest herbs in the greenest gardens grow.
 'Too young, my dear, to gather,' the gardener will pretend,
 But from the old grumbler I will coax them in the end.
 And cakes and herbs I'll gather upon a platter neat,
 Spreading them so daintily for my brave love to eat.
 And then I'll make a soft bed and soothe him into sleep :
 Then to-morrow's water bring, my house wife's name to keep.

Kangra.

Another again touchingly describes the simple devotion of a good woman who has taken the husband in real earnest 'for better for worse, for richer for poorer.'

All the world is sick to day :
 My love would healing give ;
 But, doctor sage, he knows not how
 To make the sick men live.
 Oh ! I am wounded sore !
 'Tis in my heart, my friend,
 That I am wounded sore.

When men do die shall doctors live ?
 If my love hence depart,
 I, too, will go : I'd rather die
 Than tear from him my heart.
 Oh ! I am wounded sore ! &c.

If bread be dear, we shall not starve
 However poor we be :
 From others' leavings I will make
 Cakes fit for him and me.
 Oh ! I am wounded sore ! &c.
 Though poor we be and clothes be dear,
 We shall not naked go :
 We'll clothe ourselves in coarsest rags
 And we'll be happy so.
 Oh ! I am wounded sore ! &c.
 If men abuse and say hard things
 With faces stern and grim,
 I'll silent sit, nor answer give :
 I'll bear it all for him.
 Oh ! I am wounded sore ! &c.

Kangra.

As in the course of these songs I shall not unfrequently have to give some with a chorus, I add here the first verse of this one to show how in the original the chorus or refrain is brought in.

*Piyā merā baid, sārā jag rogī ;
 Na jāne sabaj, kihān jīye rogī ?
 Lag rahī chot ;
 Sajan, mere man men
 Lag rahī chot.*

Here are two more catches from Kangra as innocent and simple as one could wish.

As I was going for water on a day
 There came my love and met by the spring ;
 And all my care and trouble fled away
 And like a flower my heart was blossoming.

Kangra.

Oh, the house I have built is large, my dear,
 And I have put doors all round, my dear,
 But whether I come, or whether I go
 No love for my heart is found, my dear.

Kangra.

The next little song is more quaint than pretty. A girl at a fair wants a golden-fringed fan and promises anything to her lover to get it.

Oh, give me the golden-fringed fan !
 Oh, give me the golden fringed fan !
 And, indeed, I'll love no other man.
 I promise : so give me the fan.
 Oh, give me the gold-tasselled fan !
 Oh, give me the gold-tasselled fan !
 And I will speak to no other man.
 I promise : so give me the fan.

Kangra.

Here is a case of love at first sight—

He gave me but one wicked look,
And with it all my heart he took.

Kangra.

One song is more vigorous than poetical in describing the unalterable resolves of a girl quarrelling with her lover.

You heartless wretch, I'll speak to you no more :
I'll stab myself and die.

You heartless wretch, I'll speak to you no more :
I'll stab myself and die.

Kangra.

Some of the love ditties seem to have no particular point in them beyond being something to sing—

What shall I do ? or whither shall I go ?
My love is nowhere to be found.
Searching in every place I cannot find
Him, who my heart in chains hath bound.

Kangra.

Oh, when I saw your sweet, sweet face
It made me mad I vow,
For when I heard your silvery laugh
My tears began to flow.

Kangra.

The illegitimacy of so much of the love in India has been above remarked. Songs in allusion to it are by no means wanting, and are usually untranslatable. One I have is simple almost to inanity.

Oh, with bewitchment my heart he won !
Oh, with bewitchment my heart he won !
Ah, with bewitchment my heart he won !
And all my friends and family are gone !
Oh with bewitchment my heart he won !
Oh with bewitchment my heart he won !

Kangra.

Another reminds one of the vigour shown in the grand old English song, 'Once I loved a maiden fair,' in which, when the maiden will have nothing to say to the bard and deceives him, he turns round on her with, 'Once I held thee dear as pearl, Now I do abhor thee.'

O ! how could you your fond love give
To such a one as he ?
A free-love known to all the world
And friend to nobody.

Kangra.

And here is another much in the same strain—

I made a mistake when I gave you my love,
And for my reward I have ruin's smart.
I made a mistake when I gave you my love,
For I was too true and gave you my heart,
And you in the end played a stranger's part.

I made a mistake when I gave you my love :
I made you a bed with soft flowers strewn,
And you took my love but too plainly shown.
I made a mistake when I gave you my love.

Kangra.

The song I have kept to the last touches on the same subject, and its cool effrontry is instructive and amusing. A country girl has been married off by her parents, but her old lover tells her that that need make no difference, and reminds her that by custom she must return for a while to her parents at six months, and again at a year after her marriage—

What is this that I hear ?
They have married you, dear :
And what if they have, love ?
Come to me, Rosy-cheeks !
Come and meet me and go,
For my love you must know :
When you come home again,
Come to me, Rosy-cheeks !

Kangra.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ART VI.—ARE INDIAN MISSIONS A FAILURE ?

VARIOUS unfavourable opinions are expressed in India concerning the thirty-five missions and nearly seven hundred missionaries at work among the two hundred and fifty million non-Christians throughout the Empire, from the unqualified belief, coming down from the old, conservative, East India Company, that they should be officially suppressed, as endangering her Majesty's Government in the East, and the statement of such papers as the *Hindoo Patriot*, the organ of "educated" Bengal, that "Christian missionary labours in India have practically come to a dead-lock, and our countrymen are not therefore particularly anxious about them," to the general commiseration and sceptical contempt and ridicule of certain leading newspapers under the editorship of English "Christians," re-echoed by the average Anglo-Indian and English-speaking Bábú up and down the land, whose chief moral nourishment is Buckle's "History of Civilization" and the works of Theodore Parker. It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, in order to furnish a plain, brief statement of facts, and correct such erroneous opinions ; to notice, first, the direct progress of the Indian Native Church ; (1), in numerical strength, and (2) in morals ; secondly, the educational progress of missions in India, school statistics and influence, and the indirect influence of the missions of the land ; and lastly, the assurance of their ultimate and complete success not only in this Indian Empire, but in the whole world.

Direct progress of the Native Church.—In numerical strength. First, as regards periodical statistics :—The statistics of the Native Church have been taken from time to time, showing marked success in the efforts of missions to Christianize the land. In 1861 there were in the Protestant Native Church, in the whole of India, 97 native ordained agents, 24,976 communicants, and 138,731 native Christians. In 1871 these had increased to 226 ; 52,816, and 224,258, respectively. In 1875 they had still further increased to 311 ; 68,689, and 266,391. The general statistics so far as taken in 1878, revealed 300,000 native Christians, and Bodley's Indian Missionary Directory for 1881 tells us, that there are to-day, throughout India, fully that number of natives who are adherents of the Protestant faith. The Roman Catholics claim above 1,000,000 souls as belonging to their communion, and the Syrian Church numbers some 600,000 ; so that, without exaggeration,

the statement can be made, that to-day there are 2,000 000 native Christians in India. Next, as regards local statistics:—The increase of the Protestant Church in particular localities is interesting, as showing the success of missions in India. The success of missions among the aboriginal tribes of South India during the past three years has been truly remarkable. In the Nellore district the American Baptist Mission has the great responsibility of building up into a new Church 60,000 converts, who have almost all come over in the last three years. In Tinnevelly, in 1878, 19,000 natives joined the mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and during the same time 11,000 were baptized by the Church Mission Society. In the Ongole mission field 1,000 candidates came forward in a single day, and in three months 1,000 had joined the mission and were baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity. In Tinnevelly and the Telugu country alone 60,000 souls became Christians in 1878. In the North-West Provinces, during the decade between 1861 and 1872, the Christian community nearly doubled. In Oudh the increase was 175 per cent.; in the Punjab, 64 per cent.; in Central India, 400 per cent. The Christians of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, during that decade, gained 500 per cent. In South India, where missions have had the greatest success, the increase had been comparatively rapid. During the time between the Ootacamund Missionary Conference held in 1857, and the Bangalore Conference in 1879, or in about two decades, the church had increased threefold, namely: increase of native ordained agents, 186; communicants, 41,000; baptisms, 93,000; and of unbaptized adherents about 95,000; showing a total of 200,000 baptized Christians and 127,500 unbaptized adherents, the whole amounting to about one per cent. of the population. The increase had also been steady. In 1857 there were 95,000 native Christians; in 1861, 125,000; in 1871, 192,000; in 1878, 327,500; and in 1880, 330,000, which shows an increase, in four years, 1857-61, of 30,000; in ten years, 1861-71 of 70,000; and in ten years, 1871-81, of 138,000. Further, the increase has been general. As shown in the table below, giving the increase in four principal countries, during the twenty-one years, between the two South India Missionary Conferences:

Country.		1857	1878	Increase.
Tamil	...	75,000	172,000	97,000
Telegu	...	3,800	83,000	79,200
Malayalan	...	9,600	34,000	24,000
Canarese	...	3,200	5,500	2,300

Finally, to consider the rate of increase. There are two ways in which this rate can be viewed: first, compared with the Christian

community itself, and secondly compared with the whole population. Compared with the Christian community, we find, that from 1850 to 1861 the rate of increase in the Protestant Church in India was 53 per cent., and from 1861 to 1871 the rate was 61 per cent., while during the last decade, from 1871 to 1881, the rate has been 60 per cent., and there seems to be every prospect that this rate will increase more rapidly in the future. Comparing the rate with the whole population, we ascertain that in South India the native Christians of the Protestant Church amount to nearly one per cent. of the whole population, and, taking the entire Christian community of all India,—Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Syrians as one body,—they amount to nearly one per cent. of the entire population of the empire. It may increase the force of the above statistics to state, that nearly all the 341,000 native Christians belonging to the Protestant missions of India have been converted during the last seventy years, and that every year shows increased numbers of accessions.

2. In morals. The oft-repeated and most ignorant assertion of half sceptical and ill informed white Christians, that there *are no* Native Christians in India, I believe to have an abundant and sufficient answer in the foregoing statistics; and now it seems proper to drive persistent and ungenerous maligners of Christian Missions and missionaries from that other place of refuge of theirs, namely, if there *are any* Native Christians in India, they are *false ones*. As one has well said, "such persons not unfrequently point to some of the waifs and strays, the ne'er-do-weels of the Native Christian community; and, taking their cue from these hopeless, restless, Christless wanderers, they throw obloquy upon the whole Native Church—as if the Church in Christian lands had not the counterparts of these to bewail, and as if it would be honest and fair to stamp the character of the Church from what is seen of its worthless members." What are the facts in the case? In showing the true state of the Native Christian Church in India, I produce statements of some of the oldest, wisest, and most experienced missionaries, who, during a residence of many years in the land, in the midst of the Native Church, have had abundant opportunity to know whereof they speak. The last Missionary Conference sat in the city of Bangalore in 1879. In that body a committee was appointed upon the Native Church. That committee of old and tried missionaries reported as their candid opinion, that "the Native Church had made progress in other respects" besides numbers. The Christian faith is proving itself still to be the power of God unto Salvation. Those who receive it are drawing from it new health and life, and are manifesting some, at least, of the fruits of the Spirit in their moral conduct and social

condition." The Rev. J. Vaughan, after seventeen years experience among the people, testifies: "As regards the moral standard of the whole Christian community, communicants and non-communicants, my experience leads me, without hesitation, to affirm, that the Native Christians of Bengal are, upon the whole, as moral, as regular in their conduct, as is the great mass of nominal Christians at home." Dr. George Smith, after a residence of seventeen years, affirms: "Of the great body of the Native Church, it may be said that their Christianity is much of the same type as that of the rest of Christendom. Neither from our example, nor in fairness from a consideration of the origin and position of the Native Christian converts, are the churches of Europe and America entitled to expect a higher spirituality than theirs, or at present, more rapid and extensive defections from heathenism and Islam." Bishop Caldwell, whose large practical experience in mission affairs gives him a right to testify, made the following emphatic statement before the Madras Diocesan Conference in 1879. "I maintain that the Christians of our Indian Missions have no need to shrink from comparison with Christians in a similar station in life and similarly circumstanced in England or any other part of the world. The style of character they exhibit is one which those who are well acquainted with them cannot but like. I think I do not exaggerate, when I affirm that they appear to me in general more teachable and tractable, more considerate of the feelings of others and more respectful to superiors, and more uniformly temperate, more patient and gentle, more trustful in Providence, better church-goers, yet free from religious bigotry, and in proportion to their means, more liberal, than Christians in England holding a similar position in the social scale. I do not say that they are free from imperfections, but I am bound to say that when I have gone away anywhere, and look back upon the Christians of this country from a distance—when I compare them with what I have seen and known of Christians in other countries, I find that their good qualities have left a deeper impression on my mind than their imperfections. I do not know any perfect Native Christians, and I may add that perfect English Christians, if they do exist, must be admitted to be exceedingly rare." Such testimony might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary to add to the above in order to prove the point under consideration. In connection with these statements, notice *two facts* in evidence of the moral stability of the Native Church. (1.) The Native Church is growing in liberality and Christian giving. From 1851 to 1861 the Church gave the sum of Rs. 93,438, but in 1871 alone it gave the almost equal amount of Rs. 85,131, which was more than one rupee for each communicant. In 1878, in South

India alone, the Native Church gave Rs. 75,000. The Church at Nagarcoil, through the example of one good native deacon, gave nearly Rs. 1,000, more than the whole Travancore London Missionary Society Mission, at the date of the Ootacamund Conference in 1857. Dr. Jewett, of the Baptist Mission in Ongole, states that the new converts contribute about Rs. 400 per month, a fact which not only shows their sincerity, but proves their liberality. From a review of the Karen Missions for 1877-1878, it appears that the people have done remarkably well in the way of approach toward general financial independence and self-support, the entire appropriations of the home society of the American Baptist Missionary Union to the Karen work for the year being Rs. 66,094, while the Karen Churches contributed Rs. 72,695 for the purpose of carrying on the work of God in their midst. They have also given Rs. 76,154 towards lands, buildings, and presses for the benefit of the people. The other fact is this: (2.) The number of voluntary workers and unpaid agents in the Native Church is increasing. In almost all the Native Churches, there are persons who devote themselves to the work of God without pay, while there are many others who take only what is required to supply the necessities of life. An experienced missionary, in an essay on the Native Church, read before the Bangalore Missionary Conference in 1879, remarked: "We see individuals here and there showing very remarkable zeal in evangelistic work. I know such in Travancore, and our reports speak of others whom I do not personally know. I do see members of the Church, then, both men and women, engaging in voluntary work for Christ. I hear of the same thing in Tinnevely, as when, a short time back, at the annual meeting at Enengnanapuram, on Bishop Sargent's expressing a wish to address a few words of encouragement to the voluntary workers then present, no fewer than one hundred and twenty-four men stood up, and thirty-eight others offered themselves as fresh volunteers. And not only men, but women too,—women, as I have heard, in the Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, being even more forward than the men. The brethren in the Nellore and Madura Missions bear emphatic testimony to the same effect." When such can be said of the Native Church in India by candid and careful men, who know whereof they affirm, and when there is such liberality and voluntary work on the part of the membership, there must be vitality and life, and consequent success.

Educational advancement and indirect influence of Indian Missions.—1. Educational advancement. There are two phases of this subject to which I would particularly call attention. The first is, the numerical progress of schools. In the paper on the "Progress and Prospects of India Missions," prepared by that careful

author and experienced missionary, the late Rev. M. A. Sherring of Benares, and read before the Allahabad Missionary Conference in 1872, the statement is made that "in the year 1861, there were in all the missions 75,975 pupils under instruction; in 1871 there were 122,372, of whom 22,611 were young women and girls. This shows an increase of 49,367. In the previous ten years, from 1851 to 1861, the increase was less than 12,000." In South India, during the last twenty years, all missionary bodies, and especially all missionaries, have become even more deeply convinced of the necessity and importance of Christian schools as a missionary agency, and especially as the influence of Government schools is, for the most part, non-Christian. Below are some of the comparative school statistics for South India :—

Schools.		Number of scholars.		
		1857.	1878.	Increase.
Anglo-Vernacular	..	6,327	19,659	13,332
Vernacular	...	28,029	52,482	24,453
Girls' schools	...	8,990	26,209	17,219
Total	...	43,346	98,350	55,004

In the department of higher education, between 1861 and 1871, 1,621 pupils, educated in Indian mission schools, passed the University Entrance Examination, 513 passed the First Arts Examination, 154 took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 18 that of Master of Arts, and 6 the degree of Bachelor of Laws. During the last twenty years mission schools have in every way increased three-fold, and those who have received their education in them are to be found in every department of Government service. The second phase of this subject is—the influence of mission schools upon the land. How marked has been their effect during the last twenty-five years. In the language of the *General Review*, Bang. Con., 1879, "The influence of mission schools upon the thousands who pass through them it is impossible to estimate. But testimony comes from all quarters as to the good they effect in various ways." I might briefly notice here some of the ways in which their influence is felt. There is surely a secular influence goes forth from them, as well as from all schools, which betters the intellectual condition of the people, and the masses are led onward by them in the path of civilisation to prosperity and success. This is one way in which missions benefit India; and that man must be blind, indeed, who can see no good in such benevolent institutions. There are thousands to-day in India who owe their daily bread to the education they have received in mission schools. And, as the Bangalore Mission Conference report states,

the moral influence of mission schools cannot be over estimated. There are often young men led to renounce idolatry and embrace Christianity through the influence of mission schools, and their usefulness in the native Church is far beyond their numbers. And then, besides these converts, there is an influence upon the masses which is for good. Ideas are being changed, conscience is being enlightened, and a congenial soil is being prepared for the reception of the word of God. And the influence of mission schools is being felt in the native Church. Native Christians are being prepared for the work before them. Catechists and helpers are being educated to cope with the thousand forms of error about them. Nearly all the rising generation of native Christians have received, and are receiving education in these schools, and, along with secular knowledge, are being taught sound morals. Thus, as the Christian Church advances in numbers, it will be prepared to take the lead in all that is good and useful.

2. Indirect influence of Missions. Besides these direct advances which are being made by the Christian Church in India, Indian missions have started a thousand influences, whose power cannot be directly measured, but which are telling mightily upon the great systems of the Empire, and which, silent, gradual, and pervading, are destined to permeate and change the whole mass of heathenism and Islamism. Among these may be mentioned briefly : (1). The general enlightenment of the masses. Is it not a fact that there are many things in India which cannot stand the light, and that the moral and intellectual light poured in by mission preaching and teaching has caused thousands to be ashamed of many of their social and religious habits, customs, rites, and ceremonies, and to denounce all faith in them ; and many, although not yet baptized, are intellectually convinced of the truth of the Christian religion. Many of the better educated Hindus, and especially those who have received the moral training of mission schools, look with utter contempt upon the superstitious customs of the peasantry, and are now ready to deny that they have anything to do with such foolish beliefs. The most casual observer can see, that even staid, conservative India is undergoing a great moral change for the better, and the careful inquirer will find that this is largely due to the influence of Christian Missions. (2.) The influence upon idolatry. During the last half century, marked changes have taken place in the Hindu's reverence for his gods, and it is a known fact that not a few have entirely renounced idolatrous practices, and others only continue them through family associations, superstitious fear, and caste prejudices, not having sufficient moral courage to avow their sentiments. The different sects, such as the Brahmo and Aryasamajas,

the followers of Keshab Chunder Sen and Dayan and Saraswati, which in these days are separating from the old religion, are but the result of Christian teaching and Christian ideas, taught mainly by Christian Missions and Christian missionaries. And these sects denounce idolatry in no ambiguous terms. (3.) The decay of caste. Whatever be the cause, caste, that great Oriental tyrant, is on the decline. Thousands all over the land feel it to be a cruel burden and long to be rid of it. Caste distinctions are not held so strongly as they were, and castes are drawing nearer together. Brahmans are found in almost all positions. And the educated are free to admit the absurdity and foolishness, not to say sinfulness, of them altogether. And has not this been largely brought about through the influence of Christian Missions? (4.) Public spirit. Such a thing had almost been crushed out of the people. They were under the fiat of the conqueror, so completely subdued, that there was no hope, no ambition, no public spirit left in the masses. But now the people show a desire to learn. There is increased popular inquiry after truth. Thought is being stimulated and quickened. Wherever missions are in progress, justice and morality increase, and the people think more about religion, and many become earnest and sincere inquirers. (5.) Treatment of women. Through the influence of missions the female sex is being blessed and benefited. Women and girls by the thousand are being educated and made companions for, and not slaves of, men. Said a learned Mahomedan in Turkey to a missionary—"You are right, we must educate our girls: on that depends the welfare of our country. We have lost our place among the nations because our sons have no mothers." And, has not that been true in India, and as much among Hindus as Mahomedans? Christianity is the friend and protector of women. It is the purpose of Christian missions to correct this social defect, and give woman the place she should occupy. All women are now more honoured; in some places women are allowed to go abroad, widows are permitted to re-marry, and all over the empire thousands of girls are at school, being prepared for useful, independent lives. These things show the power and progress of Christian missions.

(6.) Lastly, look at the personal and literary influence of missionaries. Seven hundred cultivated Christian gentlemen, with their wives and families, residing in different places, up and down throughout this great empire, must, in their constant contact with the people, exert an influence upon them for good. Besides that, the literary and philological achievements of missionaries cannot be overlooked. "Since the beginning of modern missions the Bible has been translated into 212 languages, spoken by 850,000,000 human beings

and distributed at the rate of nearly twelve copies every minute. It will not be long before the Bible will be published in every language on earth. All this has been done by missionaries. Thirty-nine of the languages referred to, never had a written form, until the missionaries created it."

Now, is any one prepared to shut his eyes to all these powerful influences at work in India to-day, and pronounce Christian missions, by means of which all these influences were set in motion, a failure? Shall Carey, and Duff, and Wilson, and Sherring be forgotten? Are the more than two hundred thousand boys and girls under Christian instruction not being bettered by it? And will the learning of mission schools have no effect upon their life and religion? Should not the fact be acknowledge that, besides the visible signs of progress, there are a thousand secret forces at work by means of which India is undergoing a great moral change? All these indicate the success of Indian missions.

The ultimate success of missions.—I now come lastly to assert this fact, that if during the whole history of Protestant missions in India, since Ziegenbalg and Plutschau landed at Tranquibar in 1706, or William Carey first set foot on the soil of Bengal on the 11th of November 1793, there had not been one single convert to the Christian faith, it would be, although natural and human, still illogical and premature to announce the failure of Christian missions in India. In proof of this, let evidence be submitted to a candid world.

1. Those who pronounce modern missions a failure must bestir themselves to prove ancient ones a failure also, for modern missions are as successful as ancient ones. As Dr. Murray Mitchell said at the Allahabad Missionary Conference in 1872, "*the failure of modern missions* is becoming almost a stock phrase in certain quarters. I am convinced that the expression is entirely unreasonable. Test it by statistics, in so far as statistics are available; and assuredly there is no cause for discouragement. It would be exceedingly interesting if we could state the number of Christians who were in the world in the beginning of the second century, about 70 years after the command was given—"Go unto all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." The number has been calculated at a million, or perhaps a million and a quarter. Now, modern Protestant Missions may be said to have commenced only 70 years ago. The number of men, women, and children who are connected with these missions, and who, but for the missions, would have been heathen, could not be put down at a lower figure than a million and a half. Tried, then, even by an arithmetical standard, and compared with the missions of Apostolic days, our modern missions are an unquestionable success."

2. Again, those who pronounce modern Missions a failure must first undertake the task of proving the failure of Christianity, for missions are not a failure unless Christianity itself is. Those, therefore, who recommend missionaries to give up the work as hopeless, should, first of all prove the Christian religion to be false, and then, with the downfall of the Christian edifice, will be carried in utter ruin the whole scaffolding of Christian missions. But it is a most encouraging fact that, while the ultimate success of missions is wrapped up in the genuineness and divinity of the Christian system, the triumph of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the world is most clearly and emphatically revealed. Every knee must bow, and every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord. He must reign until he hath put all enemies under his feet. The world is given by covenant to Jesus Christ, and it has been said to Him, by Him who hath power to fulfil the promise:—"Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. The isles wait for his law. The wilderness and the solitary places shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for then shall all know me, from the least of them, unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord."

3. God's commands and promises to us concerning mission work are an abundant assurance of its ultimate success. The marching orders of the Church are: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations . . . to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." And the additional promise of Him who sends His messengers forth into all the world is, that "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened," showing that the silent, hidden, active, pervading, growing, principle of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as presented by the commissioned agents, will spread, and permeate, and overcome, until the whole world is full of the glory of God.

4. As to Indian missions in particular, it may be said of them, in the language of an experienced Indian missionary, that "the enlarged activity of the native mind, the thirst for education pervading large masses of the people, the earnestness being manifested in the native Church, the energy and zeal and love for souls which some of its members are displaying, the growth of a liberal spirit among the Christian communities, the increasing number of catechists, Christian teachers, and ordained native ministers—all these circumstances, while irrefragable signs and proofs of progress, are also bases upon which to

build our hopes for the future." I cannot better conclude this paper than by using the language of that grand Oriental scholar, Professor Monier Williams, with which he concludes his recent book on Hinduism :—

"Then let the Christian missionary, without despising the formidable Goliaths to which he is opposed, but with the quiet confidence of a David in the strength of his own weapons, go forth fearlessly, and with the simple sling and stone of the Gospel in his hand, and do battle with his enemies, not forgetting to use the sword of the Spirit. Much ground, indeed, has been won already by the soldiers of the Cross ; but to secure a more hopeful advance of Christianity throughout India, a large accession to the missionary ranks of well-trained men, thoroughly conversant with the systems against which they have to contend, and prepared to *live*, as well as preach the simple story of the Gospel of Christ, is urgently needed. And far more than this is needed, for the complete triumph of God's truth in India. Nothing less is demanded of us Englishmen, to whose charge the Almighty has committed the souls and bodies of two hundred and forty millions of his creatures, than that every man among us, whether clerical or lay, should strive to be a missionary according to the standard set up by the first great Missionary—Christ himself. Let no lower standard of duty satisfy us. So will the good time arrive when not only every ear shall have heard the good news of reconciliation of man to his Maker, but every tongue also of every native in India, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountains, shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

J. E. SCOTT.

Sitapur, Oudh.

ART. VII.—THE BISEN TALUKDARS OF NORTHERN OUDH.

(*Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, 3 Volumes, royal 8vo.*
Lucknow: 1877.)

THE valley of the Gográ to the foot of the hills has been historic ground from a remote period of antiquity. A highly fertile plain, unbroken by a single hill and watered by many bountiful and perennial streams, it attracted the attention of the Aryan immigrants soon after their arrival, and has ever since been one of their principal seats in India. The earliest mention of the place occurs in the Vedas, as *Uttarakosala*, or Northern Oudh, where Agastya first established his hermitage, and the sacred spot is still shown to passing travellers. According to local tradition Brahmá himself invited the primitive sages to establish his worship in this valley, from which circumstance the place is said to have got its name. A part of it was once owned by Yavanásva, a solar king, who claimed to be the tenth in a direct line from the sun.

Subsequently the whole tract formed a part of the thriving kingdom of the Hindu beau-ideal of royal perfection, the hero of the *Rámáyana*. On the partition of his kingdom after his death, the northern portion, including the valley under notice, fell to the share of his son, Lava, whose capital near Srávasti, modern Sáhet Máhet, is still remembered. Local legends connect Debi Pátan, a part of the tract, with Karna, the half brother of the Pándus, who, forsaken by his mother, and knowing no father, found an asylum here.

Who the successors of Lava were, is not known, but it is generally believed that they were Kshatriyas of the solar line, bearing the tribal name of Sákyas. Tibetan Buddhist legends make them the descendants of seven brothers, who, exiled from their native land, found an asylum in the wild, inhospitable Terai, and there, in the absence of a more eligible consort, married their own sister, and, assumed the title of Sákyas, or the 'daring'; because they unhesitatingly set aside all conventional marital rules, to maintain the purity of their blood. In time their descendants spread wide, and established many principalities all over the valley. At the close of the seventh century before Christ, they owned the whole of Oudh and some tracts lower down, probably as far as Benares. But it was the birth of Buddha among them at this time that gave to the tribe its highest importance. The saint was born near Kapilavastu, modern Bastí, and

for many years of his life spent the rainy season in the monastery of Jetavana (the Grove of Victory) near Srāvasti. At that time Prasenajit, a relative of his, showed him every attention, and erected for his accommodation the monastery in question. Virudhaka, son of Prasenajit, did not accept the religion of his father; he greatly oppressed the Buddhists, and is said to have confined 500 Buddhist virgins in his harem. For the last offence "it was predicted that on the seventh day he should be consumed by fire. To falsify the prophecy, he and his court spent the day on boats on the pond to the south of the city; but the waters fled back, the earth yawned, and the guilty monarch disappeared in a supernatural flame." Eliminating the miraculous element from the story, we have only an instance of some condign punishment meted to a seceder, and a break in the continuity of Buddhism in the family, which in the case of a religion of so recent a growth at the time was by no means improbable, or even remarkable. Buddhism, however, was then on the ascendant, and could not be affected by such an accident. The monastery daily rose in importance, and pilgrims by thousands upon thousands flocked to it every year, to visit the most important scene of their Lord's ministry, and enriched it greatly by their contributions.

It is said, that "at the end of the second century B. C. Ráhu-lata, the sixteenth Buddhist patriarch, died here after having imparted his secret lore to the King's son, Sanghanandi." This would suggest the idea that the house of Srāvasti returned to the fold of Buddha at this time; but whether so or not, the family of Prasenajit continued Buddhists for nearly four centuries, until the time of Rájá Vikramáditya, at the close of the second century. Opinion is divided as to who this Rájá was. According to some he was a King of Sáhet Máhet; others urge, with a considerable show of evidence, that we have in him the Vikrama of the Gupta dynasty, for it is admitted that his sovereignty extended as far as Málwá. The Sákyas, who had hitherto held the different principalities of the Gográ Valley, receded before their assailants; many exchanged their Buddhism for the religion of the aggressors, gave up their tribal name as suggestive of unpleasant associations, and gradually lost all power and influence. In the beginning of the 5th century (A. D. 403), when the Chinese traveller Fa Hian visited the place, the Sákyas as a dominant race had passed away, and all Buddhist sanctuaries were in ruins. Religious enthusiasm had erected monuments to commemorate every incident in the history of the Saint's early career, and many of these were still standing in the city of his birth at the time of Fa Hian; but the city itself, according to the traveller, "was a vast solitude, having neither king nor people.

There were only ecclesiastics, and some tens of houses of inhabitants." Two centuries later, Hiouen Thsang, another Chinese traveller, found it in the same ruinous condition. "Il y a dix villes désertes qui offrent un aspect sauvage. La ville royale est en ruines, et l'on ne sait plus quelle était l'étendue de son circuit. Le palais, qui existait dans l'intérieur de la capitale, avait de quatorze à quinze li de tour. Il était entièrement construit en briques. Ses restes sont encore hauts et solides ; il est désert depuis des siècles."

The history of the place for the next four or five centuries is almost a perfect blank. Tradition dwells on certain non-Hindu races, the Ahirs, the Bhars, the Thárus, the Tiárs and the Dóms, as dominant during that period, and every relic of the long forgotten past is ascribed to them. It is unquestionable that the Bhars and the Thárus were ascendant for a time ; but the Hindus were never entirely expelled. In the management of civil business the Hindus were so far superior to the Bhars and the Thárus, that the latter could not do without the former, and were gradually supplanted by them. The history of almost all the old Hindu families of the province is more or less connected with the valiant, but unbusiness-like, Bhars, Thárus, and Dóms. A Hindu was a manager of a Bhar estate here, he assassinated his chief, and became the master ; a Bráhmaṇ there had collected some followers, and expelled a Bhar chief ; a Kshatriya free-lance, in another place rebelled against a Bhar or a Tháru, and became the ruling power ; and so on. Incessant feuds and fights and faithlessness, carried on for years, culminated in the entire overthrow of the aboriginal races as dominant powers.* The people who contributed most to this revival of Hinduism were the Rájputs of the Kalahans, the Janáwar, and the Bisen clans, and it is to the history of the last of these that I propose to devote this paper.

The Bisens trace their origin to a Bráhmaṇ saint of the name of Mayúra Bhatta. He was, they say, a native of Panchabati in Southern India : born Samvat 45. From that place he came to Benares to prosecute his studies, to which he devoted a long period, and ultimately repaired to, and settled in, Northern Oudh, where he passed his days as a hermit. This is, however, not in

* A doggrell, popular in Oudh, says that in the Sultánpur parganá, the Bhars were supplanted by the Bhadaiyáns, the Bhadaiyáns by Tiárs, and the Tiárs by Bachgotis, who were Rájputs originally, but since their perversion to Islamism are known

under the name of Kháuzádas. Remnants of all these non-Aryan races are still met with, occupying the lowest stratum of society. An entire village in the Bhingá ráj is now owned by Bhars.

accord with the story of his having married four wives, and of the Bisens of the present day being the 115th generation in a direct line from him. It is impossible in the long run to reckon more than three generations to the century, and there being nineteen centuries from 45 Samvat to the present day, the utmost number of generations cannot be more than 60, instead of 115. The saint is acknowledged by the Bisens to be the author of the *Súrya-sataka*, a century of verses in praise of the sun-god. It was composed to bespeak the favour of the divinity in curing him of leprosy. If so, the saint should be identified with the poet of the same name, who is often noticed in Sanskrit literature. This poet lived at Avanti, and there encountered Sankara Acharya in a polemical debate. He subsequently removed to Kanouj, and was present in the court of Sri Harsha, and gave his daughter away in marriage to the celebrated poet Bana. This would place him in the middle of the 7th century A.D., and I see no reason to assign him a greater antiquity. The title *Bhatta*, 'a professor of the Sanskrit language,' shows that he was a householder, and his well-filled zenana gives no very satisfactory idea of his saintly character. According to Sir Henry Elliot, "Mayur Bhatta, though himself a religious man, was not able to withstand the solicitations of ambition, and taking up arms after returning from a pilgrimage to Benares, acquired possession of the greater part of the country between the Ganges and the Gandak." (*Supplemental Glossary* 1, p. 42.) In Sanskrit literature he is always described as a poet, and never as a *Muni*, the epithet which the Bisens invariably apply to him, calling themselves *Muni-vansa*, or descendants of the Muni. It is said, that, one morning, seeing his daughter, just out of bed, stretching herself in a yawn, he extemporized a stanza in which he compared her to Cupid unbending his bow after a long night's warfare. The lady was greatly shocked at this, and cursed him to suffer from leprosy. According to a Sanskrit rhetorical work called *Kavya-prakasa*, the century of verses aforesaid cured the disease; but the Bisens hold that it failed, and that thereupon the poet cursed the temple of his divinity at Bahraich to be desecrated by Yavanas, and that none of his descendants would visit it. A temple is even now shown in the suburbs of the town of Bahraich, which was formerly dedicated to the rising sun Balarika, but now contains the mortal remains of a Muhammadan saint, and is called Balapir, and no Bisen ever enters it.* The story runs that Syad Salár Musáüd Ghází, a nephew of

* This is, however, limited to the Bisens only; other "Hindus as well as Mahommadans," says Sleeman, "make offerings to this shrine, and implore the favour of this military ruffian whose only recorded merit consists of having destroyed a great many Hindus in a wanton and unprovoked invasion of the territory." *Diary* 1, p. 49.

Mahmúd Gaznavi, was, when on a jehád in India, petitioned by one Kalián Kuar for assistance with a view to punish the great Rájá Sáhíl Deo, of Sáhét Máhet, for the latter having forcibly married his cousin to the bethrothed of the former. The Syad accordingly marched with his troops to chastise the Rájá, but was defeated and wounded, and, dying of his wounds at Bahraich, was buried in the said temple.

Of the zenana of Mayúra Bhatta, the eldest member, and probably the only one who was obtained by wedlock, was Nágasení, a Bráhmauí of the Vasishtha gotra, and by her he had Nágesa, whose descendants are now called Nágesvar Misars, and respected as Bráhmans of the highest caste in Oudh. The second was Haikumárí, a Bhuinhárí, whose descendants are now represented by the Hathuhá and the Tamkhoi Rájás. These claim to be of the lunar race, because they say the lady belonged to the race of the famous King Gádhi. The third was a Kurmí's daughter, and the fourth, a Rájputní, named Súryaprabhá, whose son Bisva Sen, was the founder of the Bisen clan of Rájputs. Under the Hindu law the issue of a Bráhman by a Kshatriya woman in the present sinful age can only be a Múrdhábhisikta; but the Bisens claim the caste of their matriarch, and call themselves Kshatriyas of the solar race: some prefer the lunar line.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that Mayúra did not own a permanent home at any one place. The Bisens, however, believe that he spent the latter part of his life in the village of Kakrádit, on the Sarayu, Tahsil Nagra, district Azamgarh, 14 miles to the east of Majhauili. Whether he had the whole of his zenana here or not, is nowhere stated; but, seeing that his descendants by his different wives are separated by wide areas, it may fairly be assumed, that, in moving from one place to another, he did not carry about all his impedimenta. Certain it is, too, that his descendants by his Kshatriya wife are the most prevalent in Majhauili and its neighbourhood.

His son Bisva Sena did not succeed to his estates between the Ganges and the Gandak, but is reported to have overthrown the Bhars under Chakranáráyana, Rájá of Sirohi, and established a ráj of his own with Majhauili for the seat of his government. This he is said to have gradually extended to the Nepal hills on the north, the river Sarayu on the south, Patna on the east, and Ayo-dhyá on the west. There is nothing, however, to prove that such was really the case; and even if it be admitted that Bisva Sen did form so large a dominion, it is certain, that it was not long held intact by his descendants. At a time when every landlord called himself a rájá, and deemed the sole occupation of his life to be to rob his neighbours in order to extend his own possessions, there

could be no stability for any lengthened period. The ráj of Bisva Sena dwindled away during the reign of his successors, and the chief who now represents the Majhauí ráj cannot show a longer rent-roll than of Rs. 40,000 a year.

The descendants of Bisva Sen constitute the Bisen clan. Their tribal name is due to a corruption of the name of their first parent. They are recognised generally as good Kshatriyas, and intermarry with the Sarnet, Surajbans, and Kalhans Rájputs, and receive daughters from Chandels, Bais, and inferior Chauháns.

They have multiplied very extensively all over the valley of the Gográ, and as far west as Rasulábád in Cawnpur, and also in Kewai, Kurari, Karrá, Chail, Bará, Khayrágarh and Atharban, in the Allahabad district; Chibuman in Banda; Badlápúr and Mariabú in Jaunpur; Bhadoi, Pandra and Athgawon in Benares; Shádiábád, Pochhotar, Bahriábád and Haveli in Gházipur; Muhamadábád, Gohná, Nizámábád, Mahul, and Bhadún in Azimgarh; and Chillopar, Salimpur, and Majhauí in Gorakhpur. In Oudh their total number was, according to the Census of 1869, 13,874. Socially they are of much greater importance. Everywhere they hold a high position in society, and enjoy the respect of their neighbours. They have divided themselves into three leading septs, viz., Majhauí, Goráhá, and Rámpuri. Every sept is represented by one or more chiefs, owning extensive tracts of land for their estates, or ráj. The parganá of Aonao seems to have been one of their most ancient possessions, and is named after Unwant, a Bisen chief, and his descendants still hold a number of villages in it, in spite of all the efforts of the Muhammadans to dispossess them. "One of his descendants, according to tradition, rendered military service to Jay Chand in resisting Mahmúd Ghorí" (Sherring's Castes, 1, p. 218). In the present day there are in Oudh alone thirteen talukdárs of superior rank with the title of Rájá, and many, of secondary position as Thákurs, whose ancestors were barons of great power and influence: a few were swept away by the tide of the Mutiny. Of the talukdars of the first rank, those of Bhingá in the Bahraich district, and of Mánikápur and Birwá in the Gondá district, belong to the valley of the Gográ, and ten, viz., Kálákankar, Dhirgwas, Budri, Dhangaon, Dhanawan, Chourási, and Kendorjit (divided into four estates,) belong to Pratápgarh, in the southern portion of Oudh. Of the barons who have been swept away by the Mutiny, the most important was that of Gondá. All these are branches of the Majhauí family of Bisva Sen.

The western portion of Gorakhpur, which includes Majhauí, originally formed a part of Oudh, but it was separated from it when Gorakhpur came to the East India Company, and the baron

of Majhauri, therefore, does not now represent a talukdár of Oudh. The ráj of Majhauri (or Madhyávali which was its original name) when first established by Bisva Sen, was, as stated above, a very extensive one. In the language of Bisen encomiasts, the disintegration of the ráj was due to extravagant liberality. According to it the ráj of Sattási (a tract of 87 koses, which comprises the city of Gorakhpur) was given away to one of the predecessors of the present Sarnet Rájá as a reward for some petty good service. The ráj of Aliganj, in the district of Sáran, went to a Muhammadan for a similar reason, though it is probable that good service in this case was a euphemism for a forcible dispossession. To Mahárájá Rúp Mall, another noted chief has been ascribed the gift of a ráj under a curious circumstance. A menial servant, Kurmi by caste, while engaged one evening in shampooing the feet of his master, drowsily stooped on the feet, and received on his forehead a patch of sandal paste from one of the royal toes. The master, happening to observe this, thought it would be inconsistent with his dignity to allow a person to receive royal unction on his forehead without a ráj. He accordingly bestowed an estate, 28 miles in extent, on the sleepy servant, whose descendants now hold it under the title of Rae Pudrán.

A predecessor of Rúp Mall was one Dhúm Sen. He was renowned as much for his valour as for his patriotism. He joined one of the Ránás of Chitor to repel a Muhammadan aggression, and for his distinguished services in the battle-field was honored with the title of Malla, which his descendants in the Majhauri ráj have ever since borne. His great grandson, Bodh Mall, did not inherit the antipathy which his ancestors bore towards the Muhammadans. He ingratiated himself in the good graces of the Muslims, and was highly honored at court; but at heart he was an unflinching Hindu. Once, when returning from court, he ordered his khawás to bring him some water, and he drank what was served him; but it was soon after discovered that by a mistake his drinking cup had been exchanged for that of a Muslim subáhdár. This was a pollution which, however unwittingly caused, was inexpiable. He returned to his capital, caused his son Bhawáni Mall to be installed Rájá in his place, and retired to a village, named Nagar, to pass the remainder of his life in penance and rigorous asceticism. The story runs that, when the Emperor of Delhi heard the news, he tried to soothe the offended feelings of the chief by showering on him many honors, and gave him the name of Islám Khán, whence his capital Majhauri derived the *alias* of Salimpur. They were, however, of no avail. The resolve, once taken, could not be set aside, and the Mahárájá ended his days as a hermit.

The story, however, as it stands, is inconsistent, and suggests the idea of an apostacy which has been euphemised by Hindu tradition. The Maharájá must have accepted the Muhammadan name to bestow it on his capital, and, the name being still associated with Majhauri, it is obvious, that he did accept it. Apostacy from the religion of a subject race to that of a ruling one is not, and never was, an uncommon occurrence.

To this stock of Majhauri belong the leading Bisen chiefs of Northern Oudh, and circumstantial and genealogical details are given at great length to prove this. It is not worth while to enter into these, but it may safely be asserted that the most powerful among the Bisens, the Rajás of Gondá, unquestionably belonged to the Majhauri branch. The history of these Rajás occupies a prominent place in the annals of the Bisens, and shows clearly the character of the entire clan.

The present district of Gondá had long belonged to the Dóms, from whom the founder of the Kalahans dynasty wrested it at the close of the 13th century. But his descendants did not hold it long. As the third or the fourth in a direct line from the founder, we come to the name of Achalnaráyan Sen, who is described to have been a great tyrant. "His last act in a career of unbridled oppression was to carry off to his fort at Lakriá Ghát, near Khorása, the virgin daughter of Ratan Pánde, a small Bráhmaṇ zamindar in the Burhápára parganá. The outraged father pleaded as vainly as the father of Chryseis for reparation, and his vengeance was as dramatic and more complete. For twenty-one days he sat under a tamarind tree at the door of the ravisher, refusing food and drink, till death put an end to his sufferings. His wife, who had followed him, died at the same time from grief. Before his spirit fled, he pronounced a curse of utter extinction on the family of his oppressor, modifying it only in favour of the offspring of the younger Ráni, who alone had endeavoured to induce him to break his fast. The curse was not late in being verified. In a few days a mighty wave of the Sarayu broke upon the fortress of the Chief at Lakriá Ghát, and swept away every thing, leaving not a single member of the household alive." And thus ended the rule of the Kalahans in Khorása.

At this time the Bisens occupied many villages in the district, and were strongly represented in the community; but none had attained the rank of Rájá, as some of them had in the southern parts of the province. The province now formed a part of the empire of the Patháns, and was governed by a Subahdár. On the death of Rájá Achalnaráyan, the affairs of the district fell into great disorder, and at the recommendation of Sarabjit Singh,

Bais, one Pratáp Mall, Bisen, a cadet of the house of Majhault, was appointed to preserve peace and order, and from him dates the rise of the Bisens in the Gogra Valley. Active, enterprising, and unscrupulous, he had all the requirements at hand to gratify his ambitious and turbulent disposition. His surroundings were equally favorable. In the language of the settlement officer, "on the death of Rájá Achalnaráyan Singh, the whole of his ráj fell into a state of anarchy; predatory bands roamed all over the district, rendering cultivation impossible, and the Government revenue ceased to be paid. . . . All over that portion of the Khorása principality, which was finally consolidated into the Gondá ráj, the most powerful Chhatttri families belonged to the same clan as himself, though at the present day their descendants are unable to trace their origin to our common ancestor. Along the north, divided into the great branches of Rámápur, Bechaipur, Bankata, and Kheradih, the large class of Bisens of Rámpur Birwá extended over a tract nearly forty miles long, bounded on the north by the Kuwáná, and on the south by the western Terhi or the Bisuhi, while further, the Goráhá Bisens covered what is now called the Mahádevá parganá, and several less important families of the same stock were proprietors of single villages." Pratáp Mall made the most of these advantages. He soon became a leader and chief, and with the aid of his clansmen, all trained to arms and fond of warfare, which was the natural profession of their caste, greatly extended the area of the estate which was originally entrusted to his care. He lived in his ancestral home at Goháni in the present parganá of Digsár. He kept up constant forays against his neighbours, and every raid added to his military renown and material prosperity. He does not, however, appear to have assumed the title of Rájá, or to have disowned his subordination to the Subahdár of Oudh, or to have refused the revenue of his estate to his liege lord. His son Sháh Mall, and grandson Khurram Mall, followed his example, and remained loyal to the Subahdár. They did not, with the family property, inherit the turbulent spirit and the business capacity of their ancestor, and had to content themselves with what they had inherited. Their time and talents had, moreover, to be devoted to the consolidation of what Pratáp had wrested from his neighbours.

Khurram Mall was followed by his son Mán Singh, a short, unprepossessing-looking person, but of the most restless and turbulent disposition. When not engaged in fighting with his neighbours, he indulged in hunting, and when hunting failed to afford him sufficient excitement, he turned to his neighbours. The story runs, that on one occasion he was hunting where Gondá now is, and

a hare turned round and put his hounds to flight. "If the air of this place," he exclaimed, "can make hares braver than dogs, what will it not do for men?" He resolved, accordingly, to try the experiment by building a fortress for himself near the spot. This story is similar to what is related of an Orissan king, who, hunting near Chaudwar forest, noticed a crane sitting on a hawk which it had killed, and immediately caused his capital to be established there. The story is probably false in both cases, and in that of Mán Singh, the motive must have been a political one. His home at Goháni was not located in a very secure place, and he could not build a fortress there without attracting the attention of his superior, the Subhadár of Oudh; but in the midst of a jungle which was strategically better situated for defensive purposes, he could carry out his project of building a fortress of considerable strength without any risk of being disturbed, and he acted accordingly. The fort was completed, according to local tradition, in Samvat 1575=A. D. 1518, *i. e.*, in the reign of the Pathán Emperor, Ibráhim Lodi.

Soon after this he assumed the title of Rájá. About this also there is a story related by the Bisens:—"Mán Singh, they say, had for his family priest one Dallá Pánde, whose descendants are described to have been the most turbulent among the smaller zamindars of Mahádevá. Dallá, it is said, had two syces, Sher and Selim, who went to Delhi, and by their brave conduct in war rose to the command of the imperial forces, and found themselves strong enough to expel Humáyún, and usurp the throne of India. In their exalted position they did not forget their old master, the Pánde, and sent him a firman appointing him Rájá of Gondá. As a Brahman he felt an aversion to rule, and passed the title on to Mán Singh in whose family it thenceforward remained." The story is false on the face of it. Whatever his origin, Sher Sháh, to whom reference is made here, was never a syce, and the coupling of the two names betrays the unskilfulness of the concocter of it. Anyhow the title did not come to Mán Singh, and, in assuming it, he did exactly what others had done before him, and many have done since his time. Having become the master of a fort, it was but fit and proper, he thought, that he should be called a rájá, and he had himself so proclaimed through his priest.

He went further. Relying on the strength of his fort, he repudiated all payment of revenue to the Subahdár, and claimed hegemony over his neighbouring chiefs. The time was very favourable to him. With Humáyún expelled from Delhi, and Sher Sháh busily engaged in wasteful and harassing wars in different

places, the Subahdár was not in a position to divert the flower of his army to punish refractory landlords in the wilds of Bahraich; what troops he sent from time to time to chastise the rebels were easily subdued, and their guns and equipments snatched from them, and Mán Singh rose steadily in power and influence. Matters, however, changed when Akbar came to his throne. His generals were successful everywhere. One of them took the fort of Gondá by a bold assault, and carried away Mán Singh prisoner to the presence of the Emperor. Akbar was surprised at the puny appearance of Mán Singh, and asked, "How could such a pigmy as you commit so much mischief?" This was more than the haughty Rájput blood of Mán Singh could stand, and he retorted by asking, "How does the tiny little thunderbolt cause so much injury?" The repartee pleased the Emperor, and he set the prisoner at liberty. He also restored to him his ráj; and conferred on him the title of Mahárájá, with liberty to confer titular honors on others by offering the *tilak*; and the use of the kettledrum, when marching about from place to place. Thus was the foundation laid of a ráj, which held the foremost place in Northern Oudh for full three hundred years. He was the first to give up the Maj-hauli title of Malla, and assume that of Singh, which his descendants have ever since borne.

Mán Singh left four sons, of whom the eldest, Lakshman Singh, succeeded to the chieftainship of Gondá, and the others were provided for by the grant of 640 villages, stretching from Khargupur, Lakandipur to Mánikápur. The descendants of the latter, the Thákurs of Vidyánagar, Kaimi and Goráhi, now hold only a few villages in the eastern corners of Mánikápur and Chandipura in Mahádevá.

Tradition preserves no account of Lakshman Singh, son of Mán Singh, and the only thing said of his son, Narbáhan Singh, is that he withheld, like his grandfather, the government revenue, and fell in battle, fighting against the troops of the Subahdár. He left four sons, of whom the eldest, Durjan Singh, succeeded him. His two younger brothers, Bán Singh and Bir Sháh, were provided with small estates which are now held by their descendants as Thakurs of Birdehá, Hindu Nagar, and Bisvambharpur. Durjan Singh was as fond of fighting as his father, but he was more discreet. Instead of setting himself up against his Muhammadan suzerain, he turned his attention to his neighbours, the Rájás of Baundi and Ikauná. Both of them were defeated, and made to contribute largely to the enrichment of the conqueror. The former purchased peace by the relinquishment of

a large parganá, and the latter had to give up his entire ráj for a period of twelve years. The real cause of quarrel in all such cases is, of course, the desire on the part of the more powerful and turbulent to rob his neighbours, but the ostensible one in the instance of Ikauná was the refusal of Jagat Singh to acknowledge the hegemony of the Gondá chief by sending for the second time a supply of white lotus flowers required for the performance of a Vedic rite commenced by him with a view to get male issue. The rite proved ineffectual, because, as the legend would have it, the flowers were not forthcoming in time, and Durjan died childless, leaving his ráj to his youngest brother, Amar Singh, who had not been, owing to his youth at the time of his father's death, provided with a separate estate.

Amar was a weak prince, totally unfit to maintain the leadership of his ancestors, and his neighbours were not slow in taking advantage of this circumstance. The Rájá of Ikauná, who had been for some time smarting under the loss of his family dominion, organised a large army, assailed Amar with great force, recovered his long lost kingdom, including a large slice of the Gondá ráj, and fully avenged the disgrace that had been cast on him by Durjan Singh.

The fallen fortunes of Gondá were retrieved by Rám Singh, son of Amar. He was a very powerful and warlike chieftain, and, during the whole of his reign, about the close of the 17th century, engaged in fighting with his neighbours. When the fort of Gondá was first erected, the country around it was full of jungle, and the spot was selected obviously, because it was not liable to sudden surprises. Extensive clearances, however, had since been effected, and population had greatly increased, making the ráj less secure than was desirable. Boundary disputes, too, were in those unsettled periods constantly arising, or were made to arise to satisfy the earth hunger and the fighting proclivities of neighbouring chiefs. There was a tract of land between the Bisuhi and the Kawáná rivers which had been the apple of discord among the Bisens and the Janáwars for a long time, and had frequently changed hands according to the varying fortunes of war. At the time when Rám Singh came to power it was held by the Janáwars, and protected by a mud fort at Bhatpur. Rám Singh, therefore, set to reduce the fort as a preliminary to his regaining for his family the disputed Doab. His enterprise proved successful: the fort was destroyed, and the Doab annexed to Gondá. A similar annexation was effected on another side, after long protracted desultory fights against the Raikwárs, and the parganá of Pahárpur, including 24 villages, rewarded his labours.

His successes in the battle-field did not, however, bring that satisfaction which all who have extensive estates to bequeath so earnestly long for. He had no son to inherit his ráj. To provide for this "he had recourse," says the historian,

"to the services of Gángá Gir Goshain, the most noted of his time among the holy men of Ajodhya. The Saint had two favorite disciples, Datta and Bhawáni; and at the urgent entreaty of the Rájá he despatched them to Benares with a direction that they were to insert their heads into a grating which overlooked the Ganges, and as the guillotine-like door descended from above to decapitate them, to pray to the River who received their lives, that, in exchange for each, a son might be given to the Gondá Chieftain. The sacrifice was efficacious, and two sons were born, who were named, after the authors of their life, Datta and Bhawáni. At the same time the Goshain gave the Rájá a tooth-pick, and directed him to plant it in Gondá, with the prophecy that as long it remained green, so long the family of the Bisens should prosper. It grew into a *chilbi* tree* throwing out two branches. In the mutiny when his rebellion cost Raja Debi Baksh Singh his estates, the principal bough was broken off by a hurricane. The second yet remains, and with it are bound up the fortunes of the descendants of Bhawáni Singh."—(*Gazetteer I.*, p. 558.)

Coming to the ráj of Gondá at an early age, Datta Singh found himself called upon to uphold the leadership of his house against very powerful rivals. But he had all the warlike instincts of his father, and was in no way unequal to the task. The whole of his long and chequered life was spent in forays and feuds and fights, but he succeeded in raising his house to the highest position of rank and influence among the chieftains of Oudh at the time. All the leading Bisens joined him, and altogether twenty-two independant chieftains reckoned themselves among his allies, and "made common cause with him in all the wars in which he was engaged." Nor were the Hindus alone that joined him. Even the Pathán chiefs of Utraulá accepted his leadership, aided him in wresting from their rightful owners the estates of Pahárpur and Ata, and annexing them to his ráj. One of the Utraulá chiefs acted as his standard-bearer, "receiving from him a fixed honorary stipend while within the boundaries of his ráj. The district under his immediate rule covered the present parganáas of Gondá, Mahádevá, Nawáganj, Digsár, Pahárpur and half Gowárich, while a brother reigned at Bhingá, and a son at Mánikápur." In short, "the Bisen of Gondá had no rival, and was absolute master in the territory submitted to his sway."

* This is the *Holoptelea integrifolia* of Planchon. It is better known under the name of *Ulmus integrifolia*, which Roxburgh assigned to it. Its twigs are used as tooth-brushes, but it is otherwise, of no value.

Following the tradition, of his ancestors, Datta Singh early refused to pay the revenue of his estates to the Subahdár, and this reduced him to the most critical position for a time; but he got over it in a highly satisfactory way. When Aláwal Khán, the lieutenant of the then Subahdár, Sádát Khán, first came to Gondá to demand the revenue, he was, according to the usual custom of the time, received with every show of respect, but the interview between the two was by no means pleasant. Aláwal was a Bahraich Pathán of stalwart make, while Datta Singh, compared to him, was a pigmy, and when the two embraced each other, the Pathán, out of mere frolic, lifted him off the ground, and thereby put the Rájput to shame. He then wanted to have an interview with Bhawání, the brother of Datta Singh; but Datta, instead of presenting him, put forward Bhairon Ráe, "the tallest of the Goráha Biseus," to play his part, and when the ceremonial embrace followed, Aláwal was lifted up in the same way in which he had put Datta to the blush, and this laid the foundation of an enmity which ended with the life of one of the two contending parties. At the time both dissembled their rage, and Aláwal was sent away with fair promises; but as soon as he was gone, Datta backed out of his engagement, and declined to pay. This led to the return of Aláwal, and the history of the wars of the two rivals has been thus summarised in the *Oudh Gazetteer* from a contemporary ballad which is very popular:—

"Aláwal crossed the Gográ at Paska in Gowárich, and the Kalahan of that parganá, smarting under their recent defeat and despoliation, flocked eagerly to his standard. His enemy seems to have established an advanced post beyond the limits of his ráj, on the very banks of the river, and the fort of Paska was held in his favour by Bodh Tiwári, who was killed after a stubborn resistance. The Pathán was equally successful at Maloná, where he defeated the Bráhmans under Náráyandatt Pánde. He then pitched his camp on the Tirhi, to the west of Gondá, and occupied himself in plundering and driving off the herds of the neighbourhood. This was at the beginning of April, when the two great fairs at Debi Pátan and Ayodhyá, had drawn off a number of Rájá Datta Singh's best fighting men, so he replied to the insolent challenge of his foe that he would be able to send in his revenue after the Rámanavami festival.

The requisite time was gained by negotiations, and finally Datta Singh marched forth from Gondá at the head of the Bráhmans of his ráj, and the whole of the Goráha Biseus of Mahádevá * * * The opposed forces met at Saharangpur, about six miles to the west of Gondá; but the Muhammadans were dispirited by an irreparable accident which had befallen them on the morning of the fight;—their leader, while mounting a restive horse, was thrown, and broke his right arm. He made light of it himself, and, binding it up in a sling, put himself at the head of his troops. The battle, after a distant exchange of matchlock fire, resolved itself into a series of single combats, in which the bard does full justice to the bravery of Aláwal Khán. For

some time it seemed as if the Bisens would be defeated, and Datta Singh prepared to leave the field. The remonstrances of his brother restrained him, and a final effort was made by the Goráhas. Bhairon Rae, the same as had figured in the first meeting of the rivals, singled out Aláwal Khan, and, after a desperate fight, clove his head open. On the fall of their Chief, the Nawáb's troops fled, and Datta Singh was left master of the field."

The success of Datta was, however, short-lived. His estate was large and important, and the Subahdár could not allow it to lapse after a single campaign. A large imperial army was sent to chastise the rebel chief, and Datta was not prepared to face it in the open field. He shut himself up in his fort, and allowed it to be besieged. Time passed on, and the cordon of the besiegers approached closer and closer, till at length the last resource of the Rájput knighthood was openly discussed. That resource was the most dreadful that human pride had ever conceived, breathing defiance to the enemy to the last, and vivid with a lofty sense of dignity and self-respect, which, however cruel in its effects, could not but command the highest respect. It was no other than the fatal *Johar*, to which the flower of Hindu chivalry in Rájputáná had so often resorted to save the honor of their family. It was to consign the ladies of the family to a burning pyre, and then to rush to the battle-field with drawn swords to die the death of heroes. Our moral feelings may revolt at the idea when we think of it in the calm atmosphere of our study, but, given the alternative of death or forced concubinage and slavery in Muslim households, no sense of dignity and self-respect would for a moment hesitate which to accept. Datta Singh, however, was saved the necessity of having recourse to this awful sacrifice. When he was ready for it, and almost at the last moment, his clansmen of Rámapur, headed by Bir Bihangam Sháh came to his rescue, and with their aid he was able to drive away the enemy from his door. The long protracted siege had already thinned the ranks of the Muslim army, and an attack from the rear by the fresh troops of Rámpur was what they were not prepared for. The siege was raised, and a settlement was come to, by which Gondá was made independent of the Názihs of Bahraich and Gorakhpur, and subject only to the payment of a tribute direct to the Nawáb of Oudh.

The lesson which this war taught the Chief of Gondá, seems to have been most carefully remembered. Datta Singh always remained faithful to his engagement, and had no further misunderstanding with the Subahdár of Oudh. His fondness for predatory warfare was not, however, in any way overcome by his reverses. If he was not a match for the Subahdár, he knew

that his neighbours were not much more powerful than he was, and he never ceased to rob them, whenever an opportunity was presented to him. The most powerful among these was the Rájá of Bansi, and with him he carried on a long protracted war, and, to quote the language of the historian, "twenty pitched battles on the boundary of Utraulá and Tulsipur ended in the final defeat of the Bansi Rájá. His capital was sacked, himself killed, and the doors of his fort still decorate the mansion of the last of the Gondá rájás."

Circumstances helped Datta Singh to obtain dominant influence in two estates which had before been independent of him. These were Mánikápur and Bhingá. The story runs, that on the birth of his second son, the astrologers in his court reported that on the sixth day the infant would become a rájá. This was interpreted to mean that both Datta and his eldest born would die within the term specified, to enable the newcomer to attain the rāj, and the order was at once issued that the infant should be done away with. The stars, however, had provided for such a contingency. Before the order was carried out, the Rájá of Mánikápur died, and his widow adopted the infant, thereby both verifying the prophecy of the astrologer and deterring Datta Singh, her brother-in-law, from the committal of an inhuman and most horrible murder.

As regards Bhingá the tradition is, that its Rájá, a scion of the Janáwar clan, was unable, in his old age, to cope with certain predatory bands of robbers or gypsies, who disturbed the peace of his estate and looted his subjects, and he was obliged to seek, or was made to accept (it does not appear which), the aid of Bhawáni Singh to put them down. Bhawáni's mission proved completely successful. He not only expelled the robbers from the chieftainship, but, tarrying there for a while, he availed himself of the opportunity which the death of the Janáwar Chief soon after afforded him, to make himself the Rájá of the estate.

Datta Singh lived to a good old age amidst great wealth and splendour; but his hunger for his neighbour's lands never forsook him. The story runs, that even on his death-bed the only regret he had to express was, that he had not been able to annex to his rāj the estate of Gangwál. Such a wish at such a time was not to be allowed to go unheeded. Anant Singh immediately sallied forth with his army, and brought the Chief of Gangwál a prisoner before his dying grandfather. It did not, however, suffice to satisfy the hunger. Greatly satisfied as Datta was, at finding that he left in his grandson a worthy representative of himself,

he felt that his object had not been attained. "Alas," said he, "that you have brought him a prisoner! Had you killed him on the battle-field, his estate would have been mine, but since he is a prisoner, and sues for mercy, he must be restored to his ráj."

The glory of the house of Gondá rose to its zenith during the reign of Datta Singh, and the decline commenced soon after. His son, Addait Singh, had a religious turn of mind, and devoted himself to the study of the religion of Vaishnavism, to repeated pilgrimages to Muttra, and to the society of Gossains. The memory of his rule is preserved in a distich which says heroism departed with Datta, and the cymbal and the tambourine of the hermit came to the country with his son. Certain it is, that the peaceful, ascetic simplicity of his life did not at all commend itself to people who looked upon warfare as the most important and legitimate duty of existence. His son Mangal Singh married a daughter of the Kalahans Rájá of Puráshpur; and on that occasion Addait restored to its rightful owner the greater part of the State, which his father had annexed to his ráj.

Regarding Mangal Singh the only event of note is that he had become the arbitrator in a quarrel between the heirs of the Rájá of Bansi, and, while out in camp in the Basti district, was assassinated by one of the contending parties, the Surajbansi chief of Amorphá. The murder was signally avenged by his son Sivaprasád. He at once led the Bisen forces into Amorphá, and laid the whole parganá waste, killing every Surajbansi that fell into his hands; nor did he relax his hold on it till it was transferred, with the rest of Sarkár Gorakhpur, to the English by the Nawáb of Oudh.

At a time when fighting, constant and hard fighting, was the only means of retaining power among the turbulent barons of Oudh, three such peaceful reigns as those of Uddait, Mangal and Sivaprasád were quite sufficient to undermine the most powerful estate, and to bring on a crisis. Jai Singh, the son of Sivaprasád, very imprudently betook to the prevailing evil of the time, that of withholding the tribute due to the Nawáb. A new complication also arose. A Major Hanek, an Englishman, was favoured by the Názim of Bahraich, and under his auspices had established an indigo factory at Goháni, the original seat of the Gondá family. Jai Singh resented this intrusion; but he was unable to cope with the army which came to chastise him. The forces of the Názim, aided by Major Hanek, were too much for him; his men were routed in a sharp encounter, and he was driven away from his ráj to seek shelter in the fort of Bhingá. But his followers, even when united with the troops of Bhingá, were

unequal to the contest. After repeated sorties from the fort, he was obliged to fly for life. He betook himself to the Nepal hills, where he died, leaving no issue, and with him ended the ráj of Gondá as an independent chiefship. His wife Phulkuwar, adopted Gomán Singh, the grandson of Pahlwán Singh, of Birwá, a brother of Mangal Singh, and for a time managed the ráj. The adoption, however, was disputed by an uncle of Gomán. Phulkuwar was assassinated, and Gomán was driven out of home to find refuge with some Pánde retainers of his ancestors, the ráj being in the meantime converted into a talukdári annexed to the private estate of one of the dowagers of the house of the Nawáb.

Gomán died childless, and his wife adopted his nephew, Debi Baksh Singh, to take possession of the Tálukdári.

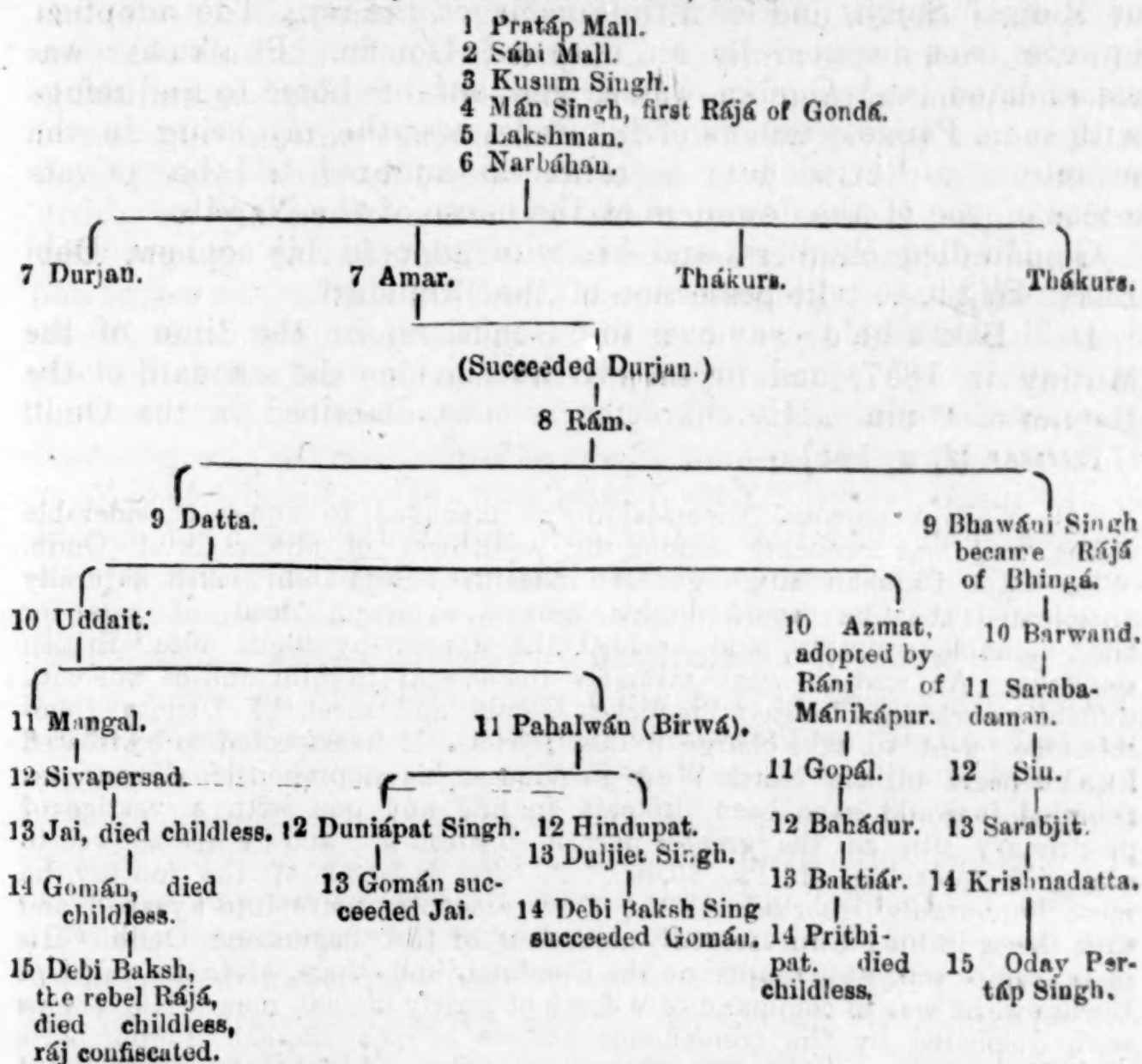
Debi Baksh held sway over the Gondá ráj at the time of the Mutiny in 1857, and in an evil hour joined the standard of the Begum of Oudh. His character is thus described in the *Oudh Gazetteer* (I, p 565) :—

“ By vigilant personal supervision, he managed to amass considerable riches, and was probably among the wealthiest of the rájas of Oudh. When Rájá Darshan Singh got the Nizámat, Rájá Debi Baksh naturally anticipated that he would do his best to extort a deed of sale for the valuable property, and avoided the danger by flight into British territory. Annexation was extremely distasteful to him, and he was with difficulty persuaded to leave his fort at Gondá and meet the Deputy Commissioner sent to take charge of the district. If he expected to be treated like his peers in the North-West Provinces, his apprehensions were unfounded, it would have been difficult to find any one with a vestige of proprietary title in the greater part of his estates, and he was allowed to engage for a taluqa of Rs. 80,000. At the outbreak of the mutiny he most honourably escorted all the Government treasure into Fyzabad, and then threw in his lot unreservedly with that of the Begum of Oudh. His main camp was at Lampti on the Channai, and there, after the relief of Lucknow, he was in command of a force of nearly 20,000 men. His troops were dispirited by the tremendous success of the English in other parts of India, and during the trans-Gogra campaign offered only the feeblest resistance. Finally, he was driven up into Tulsipur, where he coalesced with the disorderly rabble which was all that was left of the armies of the Begum, Bála Rao. Mahratta, and Muhammed Hasan, the rebel Názim of Gorakhpur. His conduct throughout the mutiny had been free from crime or dishonor, and many attempts were made to induce him to leave his asylum in Nepal, and accept Lord Canning's free amnesty. But he said that, having accepted the Begum's service, he would never acquiesce in the rule of her enemies, and his estates were finally confiscated and awarded for good service to Mahárájá Mán Singh.”

Of the Chiefships which emanated from the house of Gondá, the most important are the rájs of Birwá, Mánikápur and Bhingá. The rest were Thákurships, of which no notice need be

taken here. The relation which these rájás bear to the main stock will be apparent by reference to the following genealogical table :—

Genealogical Table of the Gondá, Bhingá, Mánikápur and Birwá lines in the districts of Gondá and Bahraich, Oudh.



The estates of Birwá, Mehuon and Mánikápur never rose to any great power and influence, and nothing, therefore, need be said about them. But the chiefs of Bhingá played a prominent part in the affairs of the Gográ Valley, and deserve some notice. It became a Bisen ráj when Bhawáni Singh took possession of it about the close of the 17th century, and has thrived steadily ever since, notwithstanding several reverses. Bhawáni Singh was as valiant and dashing in the battle-field, as he was prudent and able as an administrator. His brother, Datta Singh, owed to him a great deal of his successes, for it was he who was at the head of the Gondá army in all its important campaigns. Tradition has it that Bhawáni was present on account of his brother and himself in no less than fifty-two battles. As chief of Bhingá, he effected ex-

tensive clearances, and converted a large tract of wilderness into a thriving and well cultivated estate. He followed the well-established policy of the Bisens, of affording full protection and every encouragement to his tenantry, who in return did yeoman's service in his wars with his neighbours. For chiefs of the Bisen class, owning small estates, it was impossible to entertain large standing armies. Like the Scottish chiefs of old, they had to depend on their clansmen, who were steady agriculturists in times of peace, and sturdy, unflinching warriors in times of trouble. The Pándes were specially useful in this respect, and at times the Bisens could raise an army of twenty to thirty thousand of these hardy sons of toil, without having to pay any salary whatever. Bhawání Singh knew full well their value and treated them with every mark of consideration. He died at the patriarchal age of ninety-five years, leaving his ráj to his only son Barwand Singh.

Barwand was not so fond of war as his father, but he possessed all the instincts of the Rájput race, and was ever ready to protect the weak and defend his clansmen. When Jai Singh of Gondá, escaping from the army of the Názim, sought his shelter, the doors of the fortress of Bhingá were thrown open to him without a thought of the danger which it invited. The Nawáb Vizir's army was at the time commanded by two Europeans, whose names, as pronounced by the natives, were Ganror and Billen. They had a large park of artillery with them, and the fort, which never had any heavy artillery, could not resist the invaders. Barwand Sing had strongly advised his protégé to sue for peace, but the proud Rájput would not listen to the suggestion, and was at last obliged to escape from the fort, and seek shelter in the Nepal territories. Barwand had compromised himself by the shelter he had given to a rebel, and had alone to defend himself as best he could. The siege lasted for some time, but the end was fast approaching. In one of the sorties Sarabdamán Singh, the eldest son of Barwand, was dangerously wounded, and had to be sent away for protection to the Nepal hills. When all further chance of defence was lost, and the final assault was imminent, Barwand himself took the way to Nepal. He had with him his wife, his sister-in-law, his second son, his daughter-in-law, and a few followers. The escape from the fort was easily effected, and, though hard pressed by the enemy, the fugitives travelled over a distance of 22 miles without difficulty; but, coming to a ford at Bhainsári Náká, they found the path closed against them. A camel had fallen dead across the ford, and the pálkis of the ladies could not be taken over it. The ladies were taken out of their sédans, and advised to hide behind

rocks ; but they saw no protection in such shelter, and, rather than suffer the ignominy of being taken prisoners by the enemy, begged to be at once beheaded. They resounded the name of *Hari* and put forth their necks to receive the fatal blow. The enemy was already upon the fugitives, there was no time for reflection, and Barwand, yielding to his Rájput instinct, ordered his second son to save the honor of the family in the only way in which it could be effected at the moment. The ladies being thus disposed of, the unfortunate old man begged his son to save his life by flight. This was, however, not to be. "Sire," said the son, "forgive me, I have no desire to live any more. Who can give salvation to the murderer of his mother, aunt, and wife? The same weapon which has been the means of destruction to the nearest and dearest, shall also decide my fate." Saying this, he rushed on the enemy, and died the death of a hero. Barwand, overpowered by grief, and disabled by many wounds, was in no condition to escape. He was soon after overtaken and killed by a bayonet-thrust. He was immediately decapitated, and his head was sent to Gondá, where the last rites of cremation were performed on it by a faithful henchman, Izzat Puár, by name. The above awful tragedy was enacted in the year 1783.

Sarabdaman Singh, who had found an asylum in the Nepal hills, remained there till the Názihs were changed, and then made his peace with his suzerain, and returned to his ráj. The condition of his estate at the time was miserable ; the capital had been sacked, the houses of the well-to-do cultivators had been looted, many thousand heads of cattle had been carried away, and the flower of Bisen chivalry had been destroyed. Sarabdaman's first care was to repair these damages ; but before he could effect any material improvement in his estate, he died.

Rájá Siu Singh, the only son of Sarabdaman, was a man of great prudence and ability ; he looked after his estate with much care and diligence, and avoided every cause of quarrel with his neighbours and the Nawáb's Government. In 1799, soon after the dethronement of the luckless Nawáb Wazir Ali, a fakir put himself forward as Wazir Ali, appeared at Bhingá with a motley following of desperadoes, and demanded of Siu Singh a large subsidy, including a thousand men and four canons. Siu Singh came out to meet him, and, perceiving that he was an imposter, took him and his principal followers prisoners, and sent them on to Colonel Thomas, who then held command of the British forces stationed at Colonelganj. This act of loyalty brought him well deserved honors, both from the Nawáb and the British Government. The latter sent him a certificate of honor, a purse of two thousand rupees, and a rich sword.

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As an instance of his peaceful and forbearing nature, the anecdote is told that on one occasion a cousin of his was caught in the attempt to enter his bed-room with a view to assassinate him, and the Rájá, instead of making him pay the penalty of his offence with his life, simply expelled him from his ráj. This cousin, settling in the Gondá district, acquired a small estate called Diotaka, and, subsequently repenting of his offence, begged to be reconciled to his relative. This was easily effected. On his death-bed this person bequeathed his estate to the chief of Bhingá.

Another anecdote connected with this chief is worthy of note. On one occasion he and Sangráam Singh, one of the rájás of Ikauná, was out on a hunting expedition, when Sangráam killed a deer with his javelin cast from a great distance. The followers were surprised at the feat, and Siu Singh exclaimed "Sabásh! sabash! had it been any baser man than your Highness, I would have given him anything he might have asked." Sangráam was not unequal to the occasion. He said, "If your Highness is really disposed to reward merit, I should thankfully accept your gift." "Well, name any thing at my disposal, and it will at once be yours," said the delighted Rájá. Sangráam pointed to the jungle in which they were hunting, and it was immediately transferred. It now forms the estate of Durgápur, containing the best rice-producing land in Oudh.

Siu Singh was naturally of a religious turn of mind, and delighted not in pomp and parade. He devoted the latter part of his life to pilgrimages, and to translating Sanskrit religious books into the vernacular, leaving the management of his estate to his eldest son Sarabjit Singh. About this time Bhingá became the scene of the murder of an Englishman, a member of the Bengal Civil Service. His name was George Ravenscroft, and he had been the Collector of the Cawnpur district for many years. He had abstracted from the Government treasury a large sum of money which he had, according to Sir William Sleeman, from whose diary we draw this brief narrative, "squandered in lavish hospitality and unsuccessful speculations, and then absconded with his wife and child." The native belief was, that he had carried the bulk of the money with him. Anyhow he retired to Bhingá early in the year 1823, and there sought shelter, and ultimately the means of establishing an indigo factory on the borders of the Terai. Rájá Siu Singh knew nothing of the strict search which the British Government was making all over India for their defaulting officer, and readily acceded to his prayer. Mr. Ravenscroft built a house in the native fashion, with a courtyard in the middle, and thatched huts and out-offices on the four sides, having no opening on the outside, except a gateway in front and a bathroom passage behind. He lived

in this house for several months, "daily seeing and conversing with the Rájá and his people on the most friendly terms," and carrying on his agricultural operations in perfect peace and harmony with the people. On the 6th of May, Ensign Platt of the 20th Native Regiment, then stationed at Secrorá, about fifty miles from Bhingá, came to see him, and in the evening the old Rájá and his two younger sons called, as usual, and sat conversing with the family till 9 o'clock, when Mrs. Ravenscroft retired to her room, the Rájá and his sons went away, Ensign Platt took to his sleeping tent under a mango-tree outside of the house, and Mr. Ravenscroft composed himself for sleep on a charpoy in the middle of the courtyard. Two hours later a gang of about sixty Bhadak dacoits attacked the house and Mr. Platt's tent. Mr. Platt received a spear thrust in his forearm, but managed to escape by jumping over a thorny hedge. Mr. Ravenscroft, defending himself from his assailants, fell, after receiving eighteen spear wounds on different parts of his body. In the meantime a faithful servant of his, Musáhib by name, had helped Mrs. Ravenscroft to escape, along with her two maid servants and child, by the bathroom passage. The dacoits looted the house, and then retired. Situated as the house was, far away from human habitation, and a mile off from the Bhingá fort, no assistance could be rendered by the Rájá, or the people of the town to protect it. Mr. Ravenscroft died of his wounds the next day, and was buried close to the house—Mr. Platt reading the burial service.

Rájá Siu Singh came to the spot soon after the occurrence, and rendered every possible help to Mrs. Ravenscroft and her child, placing them in his own fort, and afterwards forwarding them to Secrorá.

The lady was subsequently married to Mr. Ricketts, then British Resident at the Court of Oudh, and her child by her first husband was accidentally drowned in a bath-tub over which he had carelessly stooped while kept confined in a bathroom by his mother for some offence or other.

Three successive enquiries were made, under orders of the British Government, about this murder, but nothing satisfactory was disclosed by them. The fact of Mr. Ravenscroft's hiding at Bhingá was known to several Europeans in Oudh and Cawnpur, but not reported to Government, and Mr. Platt's visit had compromised him; and the reports were consequently so drawn out as not to supply all the information required by Government. None of these, however, cast any reflection on the conduct of Rájá Siu Singh and his family, but Sir William Sleeman, writing twenty-six years afterwards, says, that "the eldest son of the Rájá became alarmed when he saw Mr. Ravenscroft begin to plant indigo, and prepare to construct vats for the manufacture, and

apprehended that he would go on encroaching till he took the whole estate from him, unless he was made away with. He therefore hired a band of Bhadak dacoits from the neighbouring forest of the Oudh Terai to put him to death" (*Diary* I, p. 114). Again, "the opinion that the Rájá had nothing whatever to do with the murder, and, that the gang was secretly hired for the purpose by his eldest son Sarabjit, has been confirmed by time, and is now universal among the people of these parts." (*Ibid*, I, p. 121). This opinion was obviously formed on very insufficient grounds. The gallant General spent only two days at Bhingá in the course of his tour, and not quite a fortnight all over Gondá and Bahraich, and could not within so short a period, twenty-six years after the occurrence, collect any reliable evidence to enable him to come to a correct conclusion. It was in the course of casual conversation with a few persons that he obtained what he took for facts, and, knowing, as we do, how the tone of a great man's conversation regulates the turn of the replies given by persons anxious to secure his good-will, we can easily conceive how he framed his opinion. Sarabjit is admitted to have been "a morose person who led a secluded life, and was never seen out of the female apartments, save twice a year, on the festival of the Hooly and the anniversary of his marriage. Mr. Ravenscroft had never seen or held any communication with him," (p. 113), and there is nothing to show that he had ever seen Mr. Ravenscroft. He was a young man of twenty-five years of age, and not much given to business, and the danger to the ráj from Mr. Ravenscroft's extending his plantation, was slight at best, and, whatever it was, more likely to be apprehended by the old Rájá than the 'morose' youth in the zenana. As a matter of fact, as far as I am informed, the people entertained no suspicion against him. On the other hand, a runaway European, hiding from his employers in a deserted and very insecure place, away from human habitation, without a sufficient guard, but reported to be possessed of much wealth, was just the person to excite the cupidity of such notorious and wreckless robbers as the Bhadaks, and under such circumstances there is no *à priori* improbability in their committing a robbery on their own account, without incitation.

Being of a haughty disposition, Sarabjit did not mix much with the world; but in 1821 he had to repel an invasion headed by Nawáb Saifuddowlá, Názim of Gondá-Bahraich. The Nawáb had intended to take the fortress by surprise, but Sarabjit was well prepared for him, and so raked the ranks of his army with his artillery fire, that the Nawáb had to retire in a hurry, and make up with the young chieftain.

Sarabjit died of dropsy in 1824 A.D., and his father died in A. D. 1826, leaving the ráj to his grandson, Krishnadatta Singh,

then a youth of eight years of age. The management of the ráj during the minority of the heir devolved on his grandmother, Rání Vidyá kumárí, and it proved highly beneficial to the estate. The population increased very rapidly; many tracts of land, which had never known a plough, were brought under cultivation; wealth and prosperity reigned everywhere; and the good lady was adored as the very personification of Lakshmí, the goddess of prosperity. Nor was consummate ability displayed by her only in the routine management of the estate. Twice was she called upon to face the enemy on the battle-field, and on both occasions she acquitted herself with great credit. The Rájá of Tulsipur had always borne enmity towards the house of Bhingá, and during the management of the Rání a grand attempt was made to wrest from her a portion, if not the whole, of the ráj, the alleged cause being, as usual, a boundary dispute. The rájá of Tulsipur was a chief of great power and influence. He could, at a day's notice, send twenty thousand of his clansmen and retainers to the field. He appeared before Bhingá with a large army and a heavy park of artillery. The Rání, however, had timely notice of his movements, and made every preparation to meet him. The battle was long and hotly contested, but success at last declared for the Rání. She returned from the battle-field, bringing with her as trophies, three guns, which continued to grace the fort of Bhingá, till the time of the late Mutiny.

On the second occasion, she was assailed by the powerful Názim Darsan Singh. The force brought against her left her no chance of success, and she had, therefore, recourse to diplomacy, in which her second son, Omráo Singh, helped her in bringing on a satisfactory settlement.

Rájá Krishnadatta was installed on the *Gaddi* in A.D. 1836, and, three years after, had to defend his fort against a powerful army sent by Begam Wajhan Nisá, widow of Nawáb Saifuddowlá, to enforce an enhanced demand for revenue. The battle lasted twelve days, after which the Rájá, finding it impossible to hold out any longer, had to vacate the fort, and resort to that ever-ready Alsatia of discomfited talukdárs, the Nepal hills. The Begam's troops burnt down the fort, "plundered all the houses in the town, and all the people of their clothes and ornaments. They seized all the plough bullocks and other cattle, and had them driven off and sold. The women were all seized and driven off in crowds to the camp of Raghubar Singh at Parbatatolah. Many of them, who were far gone in pregnancy, perished on the road from fatigue and harsh treatment."—(*Sleeman's Diary* 1. p. 85.)

It was not until a change of Názimship that Krishnadatta could return to his estate; but he had little time given him for putting his house in order. The farming of the revenue to the highest bidder by the King of Oudh, led to constant exorbitant demands on the part of the farmers, and resistance on the part of the more powerful talukdárs was rather the rule than the exception. The new farmer wanted more than was his due, and Rájá Krishnadatta, following the example of his neighbours, declined to submit to the demand. A battle followed, which lasted for twenty-two days, after which the Názim was killed, and his men were completely routed. A second army under the command of an English officer was next deputed by the King, and the Rájá, unable to cope with it, betook to the asylum of the Nepal hills, and again went through the old routine.

In 1854 the Rájá had to face the King's troops for the third time. A disputed succession at Nainpára had led to two Muhammadan Ránis falling out with each other, and one of these defeated the King's troops, and took three guns from them. Thereupon Ali Naki Khán, the then Prime Minister, who had taken the side of the defeated lady, sent a large army to bring the offending Rání to her senses. The army was swollen by the followers of all the leading trans-Gogra chiefs who were ordered to join it. Driven to extremity, the lady went to Bhingá, and found an asylum there. The army, according to local accounts, numbered about 80,000 soldiers, having 125 guns with them. The siege was brisk, and the earthworks of the besiegers rapidly approached the circumvallation of the fort, but before the charge was delivered, the intervention of the talukdárs brought on a peace, on the two very simple conditions of the Rájá vacating the fort for a few days, and the Rání surrendering the guns she had taken.

Soon after the above occurrence Oudh was annexed by the British Government, and half of the Bhingá ráj was confiscated on account of a few guns having been found secreted in a jungle near the fort.

While out on a hunting excursion with Mr. Yule, the then Chief Commissioner of Oudh, Rájá Krishnadatta received an accidental shot, either from his own gun, or that of a servant, who was seated behind him on his elephant, and died of the wound in the month of May 1862.

On the death of Krishnadatta, his estate was taken charge of by the Court of Wards on behalf of his minor son, Udaya Pratáp Singh. The youth was then twelve years of age. His conduct in the Ward's Institution of Lucknow, where he was educated,

was exemplary. He remained there of his own accord a year longer than the period of his minority, and received an excellent education. Since his assumption of the ráj he has done every thing to endear himself to his tenantry, and to win the good opinion of the officers of Government. He owns an excellent Sanskrit Library, maintains an Anglo-Vernacular School, and a first-class Dispensary, for which he has provided commodious buildings at his own cost, and contributes largely to all projects for the amelioration of his people. During the famine of 1874, he opened poor houses at different places in his estate, and spent a large sum of money in relief works and public charity. It is gratifying to note that the Government of India has lately conferred on him the title of Rájá Bahádur in recognition of his public services.

RAJENDRALALA MITRA.

ART. VIII.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA.

(Continued from "Calcutta Review," January 1882.)

CHAPTER II.

Land Improvement ; to secure a larger yield.

"You may order production ; you may command cultivation ; and you will have done nothing. But assure to the cultivator the fruits of his industry, and perhaps in that alone you will have done enough." (*Bentham*)

"The only insecurity which is altogether paralysing to the active energies of producers is that arising from the Government, or from persons invested with its authority. Against all other depredators there is a hope of defending oneself." (*John Stuart Mill.*)

THE reforms advocated in the last chapter would increase the cultivator's happiness by giving him security of holding and more food. They would confer the second of these benefits by limiting rent to the equivalent of a fair customary share of average produce ; by the abolition of rack-renting, whether in the direct form of an unfairly high demand, or in the indirect form of taking a full rent in a bad season ; and by securing to the improving tenant the fruits of his outlay and labour. It will probably be admitted that these reforms in distribution would raise the condition of the cultivator and strongly stimulate production. But, valuable as they would undoubtedly be, they are only a part of what has to be done if the rural classes are to be adequately relieved. However fair the rent, however sound the tenure, the depression of the ryot and his dependents will not be removed, until the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence is lightened by getting from the soil a larger yield.

But this larger yield cannot be got, unless that which is taken from the soil is given back to it ; unless the oxen are strong to labour ; unless the enormous increase of outturn which irrigation gives, is developed ; unless the periodical wholesale disappearance of harvest and grain-heap, by drought, is prevented.

The object, therefore, of the present chapter is, after establishing the necessity for the larger yield, to show why present efforts fail to secure it ; to outline the principles of a new policy, better calculated to stimulate production to the required extent ; and to fill in some of the details for carrying such principles into action.

In "England's Work in India" (Chapter III.—The adjustment of the food-supply to the growing population), Dr. Hunter has demonstrated the urgent necessity of steadily and permanently increasing 'the harvest of the hamlet.'

He reviews successively the poverty and density of the population; the increasing keenness of the struggle for existence; the want of cities and centres of manufacturing industry in a country where 'practically the whole people has to make its livelihood by the tillage of the soil'; the growth of the landless classes; the exhaustion of the soil by over-cropping and consumption of manure for fuel; the ploughing-up of pastures and clearance of jungles, and the consequent spread of cattle-disease.

I make no apology for the length of the following extracts. For, though few will plod through these dull pages of mine whom a happier fate has not already drawn to "England's Work in India," it is possible, I hope, even for an obscure district officer to add in some small degree to the working force of the great statist's generalisations by reproducing his statement of some of them, and tracing some of the steps by which they may be brought into the sphere of practical action.

The conclusion reached by Dr. Hunter is this:—"You now know what I mean by the poverty of the Indian people. More food is raised from the land than ever was raised before; but the population has increased at even a more rapid rate than the food-supply. We are compelled to stand by and watch the pitiless operation of economic laws whose force no man can stay. Those laws decree that a population of small husbandmen which marries and multiplies irrespective of the means of subsistence shall suffer a constantly increasing struggle for existence. . . . The extent of the evil may be thus stated. Two-fifths of the people of British India enjoy a prosperity unknown under native rule; other two-fifths earn a fair but diminishing subsistence; but the remaining fifth, or forty millions, go through life on insufficient food. It is these under-fed forty millions who form the problem of over-population in India. The difficulty of solving it is intensified by the fact that, in spite of the hard struggle for life, their numbers rapidly increase Mr. Caird estimates that the Indian population increases at the rate of two millions per annum. If the lot of the people is to be really improved, additional supplies must be provided, not only to feed these new mouths, but to furnish a more adequate diet for the already existing ones. This latter task means an annual increase of food sufficient to entirely feed at least half a million, or to double the rations of one million of the poorer classes. In this way the lot of ten millions of these classes would be ameliorated in the course of ten years; and the condition of the whole would be gradually improved in the course of a generation. The initial problem, therefore, is to increase the means of subsistence in India, so as to annually feed two and a half millions more people; two millions representing the actual increase in

numbers, and the half million representing a double diet for at least a million of the poorer classes Over population in India is the direct product of British rule. We have taken on ourselves the responsibility, by removing the previous checks upon the increase of the people,—checks which, however cruel, are the natural and inevitable ones in Asia, and which take the place of the prudential restraints practised by the peasant-farming races of Europe. We must now discharge that responsibility, and as our own civilised rule has created the difficulty, we must meet it by the resources of civilisation. These resources may lighten the pressure of the population on the soil in three ways:—first, by withdrawing large numbers to non-agricultural industries; second, by distributing the pressure over new or under-populated tracts; third, *by increasing the produce of the existing area of cultivation.* The food-supply of India must be augmented so as to allow of an annual increase of two and a half millions of people. Now two and a half millions are less than one and a half per cent. of the present population, and the present food-supply is more than that population consumes.

If, therefore, we add one and a half per cent. yearly to the food production, the supply will more than keep pace with the increased demand upon it, so far as the internal wants of India are concerned. I shall specify four out of many considerations which make me believe that, without attempting any flights in scientific farming, it is possible to steadily increase the Indian food-supply to the extent of one and a half per cent. per annum. The first impediment to better husbandry is the fewness and weakness of the cattle. The second impediment to improved husbandry is the want of manure. If there were more stock, there would be more manure, and the absence of fire-wood compels the people to use even the scanty droppings of their existing cattle for fuel. Under such circumstances agriculture ceases to be the manufacture of food, and becomes a mere spoliation of the soil. The third impediment to improved agriculture in India is the want of water. Mr. Caird, the chief English authority who has enquired into the subject, believes that if only one-third of the cultivated area were irrigated, India would be secure against famine. At any rate, an extension of irrigation would alone suffice to raise the food-supply by more than one and a half per cent. during many years. *Looking to what has of late years been done, and to what yet remains to be done by wells and petty works with the aid of loans from the State, I think we may reckon on a vast increase of food from irrigation.*

The fourth means recommended by Dr. Hunter for the improvement of Indian tillage, is the reconstruction of the Agricultural

Department of the Government of India, already an accomplished fact.

"I have now," Dr. Hunter concludes, "both set forth the problem of an increased food-supply for India; endeavored to state its exact dimensions, and shown that, while it demands organised efforts on a great scale, it is quite capable of solution. The problem, however, is not only one of supply, but of distribution. By one set of efforts the food must be increased; another set of efforts must secure a fair share of that food to the actual tiller of the soil. In Southern India the cry of the peasantry is for protection against the money-lenders.....In Bengal the cry of the peasantry is for protection against the landlord."—(*England's Work in India*, pp. 74 to 96).

In my chapter on Rent reform I have tried to sketch the lines on which should be projected that set of efforts which aims at securing 'a fair share of the food to the actual tiller of the soil.' The next chapter (Cheaper production) will, it is hoped, contribute something to the solution of that other question of improved distribution which is raised in the cry 'protection against the money-lender.'

The present chapter aims at suggesting one of the 'sets of effort' by which the food-supply may be increased.

Having quoted high authority for the statement that such increase is necessary I go on to show why present efforts fail to secure it. What I have to say, however, on this subject, will be chiefly confined to the third of the means recommended by Dr. Hunter for the improvement of Indian tillage.—For the fourth, the reconstruction of the Agricultural Department, has already been achieved. And the first and second, the improvement of stock and conservation of manure, have been so recently and ably handled in Mr. Allan Hume's "*Hints on Agricultural Reform in India*," as to make it superfluous to say anything more about them.

What I have to say about the extension of irrigation, and about land improvement in India generally, can best be said in connexion with a matter now under examination by the Government, the causes of the failure of the Land Improvement Act (XXVI of 1871).

The Famine Commission (Report II, pp. 144, 145,) say that the evidence they have received renders it unquestionable that this Act has failed to realize the intention of promoting improvements, and that there is a very general reluctance to make use of its provisions. The sums advanced under it have been extremely small, amounting in 1877-78 to only Rs. 427,841 in the whole of India, and "bear no proportion whatever to the need which the country has of capital to carry out material improvements."

The most prominent among the causes of this disappointing result have been :—"The obstacles created by inefficient native subordinates, to whom the granting of such advances gives extra trouble ; the delay and expense of the initial procedure, under which the first application has to be stamped, the bond for repayment stamped and registered, and a minute and troublesome inquiry has to be made into the nature of the applicant's tenure and its value ; the necessity of paying interest, which is usually fixed at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per annum ; the small number of years over which repayment may be spread, and the consequent largeness of the annual instalments ; the early date at which they begin to fall due, even before the improvement has begun to realise a profit ; and the rigidity of the rules for punctual repayment." An inquiry is recommended to be made, and is now being made, as to how far these complaints are valid, and to what extent they can be met by an alteration of the rules. There is no reason to doubt that, as proposed by the commission, unnecessary impediments will be removed from the procedure ; the period for repayment enlarged, the rate of interest lowered, and the district officers stimulated to promote the disbursement of these advances more actively than hitherto.

A much more serious obstacle to the success of the Act than any of these is described in the following passage (p.145). "Another reason has been prominently alleged for the disinclination of landowners to spend money, whether their own or borrowed, on the improvement of the land, and that is their doubt whether at the expiration of a term of settlement they will be allowed to enjoy the whole profits of such an improvement, or whether it will form the occasion for an enhancement of their assessment. . . . We think it important that a precise and permanent understanding should be come to on the subject and ratified by law. The landowner should be guaranteed against any enhancement of his assessment for such a period as shall secure to him such a reasonable return on his investment as will encourage the prosecution of improvements. It appears to be quite possible to draw up a set of rules defining what the period should be for any locality or any class of cases, so that it may be clearly known, without fear of mistake or danger of retractation and change of view, by every landowner or tenant who executes a permanent improvement on the land, whether he is entitled to the entire profits arising from it, or to a part, for ever, or for a term of years."

Elsewhere (Report II, p. 169) the Commission remark, with special reference to wells :—

"It might also be possible to stimulate well-construction by

extending the practice of Bombay and Madras to Upper India, so far as to rule that the assessment of land irrigated from a permanent well should not be liable to enhancement on account of the well at any revision of the settlement, provided the well is kept in efficient repair. But whatever plan be adopted to facilitate well-construction, we can hardly doubt that in some way the landholder must discharge the cost of first construction, with interest thereon, in a term of years, and thereafter become the sole owner of the well, and be placed in respect to it in exactly the same position as that which he would have occupied if he had made the well himself."

It will be seen that the Commission sound a very uncertain note as to the nature of the required guarantee. They seem to halt and waver between two conflicting opinions, the opinion that enterprise and outlay are adequately remunerated when the improver is secured in the enjoyment of the profits of his improvement until he has recouped his outlay with interest, and the opinion that the profits of an improvement should be permanently secured to the improver.

The Famine Commission's analysis of the causes of failure seems to be defective in the following particulars. It does not go down to the roots of the injustice done by the State in many parts of India to zamindars, improvements. It does not set up any standard of equity by which the question of the treatment of tenants' improvements by the landlord, and of landlords' improvements by the State may be determined.

It does not note to how large an extent the disinclination to improve, where not explicable by the want of a satisfactory guarantee, is caused by the superior lucrativeness of money-lending as an investment for capital; by friction between landlord and tenant, in respect of tenants' improvements; and by the unfairly heavy burden thrown on the zamindar-landlord and on the ryot by the failure of the chief landlord, the State, to take any direct or active share in village improvements.

The attempt will now be made to supply these omissions. So far as it may be successful, it will tend to make the analysis of the causes of failure exhaustive, and also to mark out the general course which reforms to remove these causes must follow.

It will be made under these six heads:—

- (1.) The nature of the injustice done by the State to land improvements by zamindars.
- (2.) What are the requirements of equity in the treatment of (Indian) tenants' improvements by landlords and of (Indian) landlords' improvements by the State?
- (3.) Is equity satisfied by the non-taxation principle as applied

in Bombay and Madras, and by the recoupment principle as applied in the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab?

(4.) The friction between landlord and tenant caused by the want of definite equitable rules regulating their respective rights about improvements.

(5.) The disinclination to improve arising from the greater lucrativeness of money-lending as an investment.

(6.) The extent to which the failure to improve is traceable to the neglect of the chief landlord, the State, to take any active share in ordinary village improvements.

(1.) *The nature of the injustice done by the State to land-improvements by zamindars.*

The principle seems in theory to be generally admitted in India that security is to be enjoyed by the improving zamindar that he will either permanently reap the fruits of his labour, or be fully compensated for his outlay if the State takes a share of them.

But this principle is applied in a variety of ways, all of which cannot possibly be right. And, as will be seen, though everywhere held in theory, it is not everywhere carried into practice.

In the Punjab the maker of a new well is protected for twenty years from any increased demand for revenue, based on the increase of assets produced by the well. Similar protection for ten years is given to those who repair old wells or dig water-courses. Evidently it is supposed in the Punjab that in ten and twenty years respectively the profits of repairing and making wells recoup the outlay, and that such recoupment adequately compensates the improver.

In the North-Western Provinces the same principle was announced in 1872, but with this important difference, that no period is prescribed within which recoupment is to be assumed to have taken place. About this point the settlement officer is to exercise 'an intelligent discretion.' He is "to assess on existing rents, but in such a way as to allow the capital expended by the builder of a masonry well, if he be at the time of settlement out of pocket by it, to be recouped."

In the Central Provinces no definite rule has been laid down.

In Oudh the North-Western Provinces principle has recently been announced. The Oudh rule now is that "lands irrigated from masonry wells, or otherwise permanently improved by landholders at their own cost, will be so assessed that no extra demand will be made from the landholder who has constructed the well or works, until he shall have recovered his outlay thereon, including capital and reasonable interest."

In Madras and Berar rules, not having the force of law, obtain, "that the assessment on lands on which wells or other improvements

have been constructed by the owners or occupants at their own cost shall not be enhanced at a future settlement, except on the ground of a general revision of the district rates." (Famine Commission, Report II, p. 145).

In Bombay this rule has been enacted by express law. Section 30 of the Bombay Survey Act (I of 1865) says:—"Such assessment shall be fixed, not with reference to improvements made by the owners, or from private capital, or resources, during the currency of any settlement under this Act, but with reference to general considerations of the value of land, whether as to soil or situation, prices of produce, or facilities of communication."

A gradually ascending scale of liberality may thus be traced from the hard-and-fast ten and twenty years recoupment rule of the Punjab, through the more elastic application of it in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, to the rule, in Madras and Berar, that improvements are not to be taxed at all, and to the ratification of this rule, in Bombay, by express law.

These systems fall into three classes: the class in which (as in the Punjab, Oudh and the North-Western Provinces) the recoupment principle is adopted, and the class in which (as in Madras, Berar and Bombay) it is rejected.

A third class is represented by the Central Provinces where no guarantee is given at all.

The fact that in six out of the seven provinces it has been found necessary to give a guarantee of some sort, is, perhaps, a sufficient indication that the want of a definite rule in the Central Provinces must discourage improvements, and expose improving zamindars to the risk of injustice.

The adoption of the recoupment principle in three provinces, and its rejection in three other provinces, seems to show that three out of the six must certainly be following a wrong course. If equity demands that the registered ryots of Madras and Bombay should permanently retain that portion of the assets which is developed by their improvements, *a fortiori* must it demand a similar privilege for the registered zamindars of Oudh, the Panjaub, and the North-Western Provinces. If, on the other hand, the recoupment principle can fairly be applied to the zamindars of Upper India, *a fortiori* can it be fairly applied to the registered ryots of Southern and Western India. The Government can scarcely escape one or other of the horns of this dilemma. Either it is wrong in taking any of the fruits of the zamindar's outlay, or it is wrong in taking none of the fruits of the registered ryot's outlay.

In the one case the interests of the zamindars of Upper India are suffering; in the other, the interests of the general taxpayer.

Justice requires, therefore, either that in Upper India the recoupment principle should be given up for the principle of absolute non-taxation of improvements, or the non-taxation principle, which was adopted in Madras in 1852, and in Bombay in 1865, must be given up for the recoupment principle, adopted in the North-Western Provinces in 1872.

Or, if neither of these principles is found to be satisfactory, some third course must be devised.

In a matter of such extreme importance, on which principles so conflicting are being followed with, apparently, the certain consequence that serious injustice is being done in several provinces of India, it would be a very good thing to trace the history of the birth, growth, and ultimate acceptance of these opposing principles.

A clear summary of the discussions and arguments by which the non-taxation principle has been reached in Madras and Bombay, and the recoupment principle in Upper India, could scarcely fail to give all the data required for a sound decision, or to show conclusively on which side lies the greater truth and weight.

As a contribution to such a summary I offer the following notes, in the hope that the subject may attract the attention of some of my brother civilians in Madras and Bombay, who can get at the facts, to me at present inaccessible, for those Presidencies.

The earliest mention of the question that I can trace, is by Sir Thomas Munro, in Madras, in 1797, and by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, in Upper India, in 1819. It is noticeable that both of these eminent men adopted the principle of non-taxation.

On the 18th July 1797, Sir Thomas (then Captain) Munro, the great founder of the ryotwari system of settlement, then an assistant in the Salem district, suggested to his district officer:—

“No additional rent should ever be demanded for improvements. The ryot who, by digging a well, or building a tank, converts dry land into garden or rice-fields, should pay no more than the original rent of the ground Nothing would more tend to secure a country from famine than numerous wells. They are so little affected by the seasons, that their crops seldom fail; they require no extensive repairs; they do not fill up, nor are they liable to be swept away by floods, or to be destroyed by an enemy, like tanks Had it ever been the practice, under Indian Governments, instead of building tanks themselves, to have let the ryots do it, without raising their rents, there would now have been infinitely more wet lands than there are, an equal or a greater revenue from them, and without any expense to the public. *If the old system of imposing an additional rent on every*

improvement be persevered in, the people will remain for ever poor, and revenue uncertain." (Arbuthnot's Memoir and Selections, I, p. 20).

"It seems," says Sir A. Arbuthnot, "almost incomprehensible, but it is the fact, that these wise and statesman-like views were not fully acted on until 1852, more than half a century after this letter was written."

It seems, I remark, "almost incomprehensible, but it is the fact, that these wise and statesman-like views," though accepted, a generation ago, in the so-called benighted Presidency, and afterwards adopted in Bombay, are still ignored in Upper India, and that now, eighty-four years after they were first enunciated, it is still necessary to repeat them, as if they had been announced for the first time the day before yesterday.

In his celebrated minute, dated 1st July 1819 (para. 242) Mr. Holt Mackenzie wrote:—

"Any share in the improvement resulting from expensive works, or the extended culture of the more valuable articles of husbandry, it is not properly in the nature of a land-tax to secure; to such, therefore, the Honourable Court do not, I suppose, look as a means of directly increasing the land-revenue, but will be content to draw thence such an increase to the public resources (in the event of the public exigencies demanding it) as can be done in the way of customs and excise." (Selections from the Revenue Records, N.-W. P., 1818—20, p. 63).

Twenty years later, this principle, then on the point of final acceptance in Madras, had made no way in the North-Western Provinces. The rule given in Mr. Thomason's Directions to Settlement Officers, published in 1849 was, (para 65.):—"Wherever the value of land has been much raised by the expenditure of capital in providing irrigation, locating labourers, or in other modes, care should be taken, lest by too high an assessment an unfair tax be laid on the profits of the capital, over and above the just rights of the Government to a portion of the net produce of the land."

The utter vagueness of this rule shows plainly that its author had formed no definite idea about taxation of improvements, and that, up to that time, the question had received very little attention in Upper India. In Mr. John Thornton's elaborate eulogy of the Thomasonian system, published in 1849, (*Calcutta Review*, vol. XII, No. XXIV.), the only reference to the question is contained in the casual remark that "justice as well as policy will require that the indefatigable Jât shall not be reduced by disproportionate taxation to the level of the dissolute Gujur."

In 1851 the Court of Directors noticed the subject rather prominently, but with almost equal vagueness, in their Despatch

No. 9, dated 13th August, to the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

They wrote (para 489) :—"Another question of importance is, whether an agriculturist, on the renewal of a settlement, should be allowed the full benefit of his improvements, or whether the Government should be held entitled to a share of the additional value which his capital and industry, aided by other circumstances, have added to the land. We are of opinion that the only satisfactory principle on which all future renewals of settlements can be made, will be that reference must be had to the value of the land at the time, a liberal consideration being given for the improvements attributable only to the efforts of the tenant himself, and especially with regard to such as are of a comparatively recent date, and with regard to which he has reaped the advantage only for a short period under the old settlement."

Here the recoupment principle is plainly hinted at; but the basis on which it rests, the steps by which it is reached, and the way in which it is to be applied, are all wanting.

The Saharanpur rules, issued in 1855, are not more explicit. They say (Rule XXXVII) :—"In villages the cultivation of which has been much extended since the settlement by the breaking up of new lands, or the percentage of irrigation increased by the sinking of new wells or other improvements, the expenditure of capital must be allowed, and a moderate jumma assessed."

In para 12 of the Gorakhpur instructions, issued in 1856, the recoupment principle is somewhat more plainly affirmed :—"The assessment should be determined. . . . upon the general principles inculcated in the Saharanpur rules, due advertence being had as well to prospective capabilities as to present assets, and also to any expenditure of capital by a proprietor for which he may not have had the means of obtaining a fully remunerative return."

The Oudh assessment circular of 1860 made no express reference to improvements, but directed observance of the Saharanpur rules generally. But in December 1864 it was notified to Oudh landholders that, at the revision of assessment then going on, no addition would be made to the assessment of lands irrigated from permanent wells, constructed after the date of the intimation, on account merely of the irrigation afforded therefrom. Land irrigated from such wells was ordered to be entered as unirrigated in the survey and settlement papers.

It was further announced, in February 1865, soon after the first Lucknow agricultural exhibition, that land artificially irrigated by means of expensive European machinery, would be rated as unirrigated for the purposes of the settlement then in progress.

In 1870, the publication of some of Mr. Charles Elliott's

assessment reports revived the question. It became known that in parganas Shamsabad and Kaimganj of the Farakhabad district, Mr. Elliott had classed as dry, land irrigated from *pakka* wells built within the term of the last settlement.

The *Pioneer* (31st March 1870) promptly attacked Mr. Elliott. It said, "this idea of rewarding zamindars for improvements is novel, and contrary to the principles which have hitherto guided our assessments. We make settlements for long periods with the view to induce landowners to improve their estates and with the hope of getting increased revenue at the end of the period. With the prospect of a three per cent. income-tax before us, we strongly object to throwing away the land-revenue in rewarding landowners for attending to their own interests."

Mr. Elliott effectively defended himself by replying that the wells so treated by him were not "ancient wells; the value of which may be looked upon as pretty well recouped by this time," and that in liberally treating new improvements he was only observing the standing orders of his department, already quoted.

The controversy seems to have attracted the notice of the local Government, for, in December 1870, the settlement officers of the North-Western Provinces were asked for their opinions on the mode of assessing lands irrigated from masonry wells or other works constructed by landlords during the preceding settlement.

Of the twenty settlement officers consulted, not one questioned the right of Government to share, sooner or later, in the increase of assets produced by such improvements. This right was assumed by all to exist, and scarcely any argument was given in support of it. The strength of the presumption arising from the Bombay and Madras practice was not noticed. The conclusion reached was, that no compensation at all was necessary where masonry wells are sunk merely in lieu of *kachha* wells; and that in other cases the recoupment principle should be followed, the improving zamindar being left such a rental from the land improved as would, during the settlement, repay him his outlay with interest.

As already noticed, this recoupment principle was announced in the North-Western Provinces in 1872.

The absence of discussion of the grounds on which this principle is considered fair, is so conspicuous in all Oudh and North-West references to the subject which I have been able to find, that it is necessary to notice here the only arguments to be found in the 1870-72 papers.

One officer considered that a settlement for thirty years was an 'improving lease,' and that the tenant was expected to put the estate into good order.

Now, no one denies that the Thomasonian system of thirty

years settlements has had a considerable effect in extending cultivation and introducing more valuable staples. But neither this nor any other kind of improvement is stipulated for. The engagements exchanged between the State and the zamindar do not bind the zamindar to spend one penny in improving the land, or even in keeping it from deterioration. They do not guarantee to him compensation if he improves, or to the State compensation if the land goes out of gear.

The lease has no single feature in common with an ordinary improving lease, except the fact that it runs at a fixed rent for a considerable term. It is true that the talukdari sanads in Oudh contain the stipulation that the talukdar will, to the best of his power, try to promote the agricultural resources of his estate, (*Garden of India*, p. 203), but the talukdari sanads are title-deeds, not leases, and have nothing whatever to do with the treatment of North-West zamindars by North-West settlement officers. How, again, can a lease be called an improving lease, when, in the terms on which it is granted and periodically renewed, no distinction is made between the improving and non-improving tenant, and when non-improvement by the tenant is the general result, the only other result that is at all distinct being that where the tenant (the zamindar) does improve, he too often does so to his own detriment?

Another officer, with great propriety, likened the improving zamindar's position to that of a managing partner who had improved a joint estate by the outlay of capital. He justly held that the other partner, the State, must of course bear his share of the cost, and that when this share had been paid he was equally entitled to his share of the profit, since he owned a share in the inherent capability of the land for improvement, and thus it would be unreasonable for the managing partner to consider himself entitled to all the profits of the improvements, merely because he had anticipated his partner in developing the resources of the joint estate.

The weak point about this argument is that it is no argument at all. It merely consists of a perfectly appropriate analogy, and of a begging of the only question that is in issue. That question is not whether the State and zamindar are partners, or whether the zamindar should be compensated for his outlay if the State wants to share in the profits, but whether sufficient compensation is paid by the State, when it simply refrains from taking a share of the profits for such number of years as will recoup the outlay, with interest.

Before coming to the equitable aspects of this question, some further indications of the weakness of the recoupment theory may be

noticed in addition to those furnished by the presumption arising out of the ultimate triumph of the contrary theory in Madras and Bombay, by the general absence of supporting argument, and the untenableness of such arguments as can be traced.

If the recoupment theory can, in the North-Western Provinces, be fairly applied to the improvements of the State's partner, the zamindar, *a fortiori*, one would suppose, should it be applied to improvements made by the tenants of the joint estate.

But the North-Western Provinces rent-law on this point is in direct conflict with revenue usage. It provides (Act XII. of 1881, section 44) that the right of an improving tenant to receive compensation, when ejected, only ceases to exist when the improvement has ceased to increase the annual letting value of the land.

Here the recoupment principle is distinctly ignored. In cases under this section it is only applied when the landlord can show that, in consideration of the improvement, he has allowed the tenant to hold at a favourable rate of rent. Such allowance is to be taken into account in settling the amount of compensation to be paid. Obviously this sort of recoupment is a very different sort of recoupment from that which obtains in the case of the improving zamindar. The zamindar can, if he likes, annually revise his tenant's rent. The State binds itself not to revise the zamindar's revenue for thirty years. When it fixes the revenue for that period it bases its calculation both on present assets and prospective capabilities (See the Gorakhpur Instructions quoted above).

Whether its zamindar-tenant makes one well or fifty during the thirty years, makes no difference in the revenue payable during that period. The State, then, cannot possibly claim that it has allowed its zamindar-tenant to hold at a favourable rate of rent in consideration of his improvements, and that this allowance should be set off against the compensation which it would otherwise be bound to pay before taking a share of the profits. I say, then, that the North-Western Provinces rent courts have to ignore the recoupment principle, while the revenue officers have to apply it, and that this inconsistency is an indication of its unsoundness.

On this very point there is an inconsistency between the rent-laws of the adjacent provinces of Oudh and the North-West.

The Oudh law assumes that in thirty years a tenant has been completely recouped for his improvements, whether his landlord has, or has not, allowed him to hold at a favourable rate of rent. The North-West law, as we have seen, puts no such limit to the survival of the right to compensation.

A similar inconsistency is to be found in the draft rent bill prepared by the Bengal Rent-law Commission. By Section 22, Clause

(3), an occupancy ryot is permanently secured against enhancement in consequence of increase to the productive powers of his holding caused by his agency or expense. On this point the Commission note in para. 55 of their report:—

"If the" (occupancy) "ryot has improved his holding, has rendered his land more productive by expending his labour or capital upon it, the benefit of the improvement will be his and his alone. Thus the law encourages thrift and industry by guaranteeing the enjoyment of their fruits to the persons who exercise these qualities." Here the recoupment principle is absolutely rejected. But in Section 29, which secures compensation for improvements to an ejected (ordinary) tenant who has held continuously for three or more, but less than twelve, years, the recoupment principle is very distinctly applied. If landlord and tenant do not agree about the terms of compensation, either may move the Civil Court to decide them. Three principles are then laid down for the guidance of the Court in such cases, the first of which, borrowed from the Agricultural Holdings Act (England) of 1875, is:—

"The amount of the ryot's compensation in respect of an improvement shall be the sum laid out by the ryot on the improvement, with a deduction of a proportionate part thereof for each year while the tenancy endures after the year of tenancy in which the outlay is made, and while the improvement continues unexhausted." It is not stated how the 'proportionate part' for each year is to be calculated, nor do the Commission's published proceedings explain why the recoupment principle is adopted in one section and rejected in another.

It is impossible not to feel that a principle which is applied so irregularly and contradicted so constantly cannot be well established.

But the injustice to the zamindars of Upper India is not merely that a principle of imperfect equity is applied to their improvements. It lies also in the fact that, hitherto, the recoupment principle, whether sound or unsound in theory, has been very sparingly acted on in practice. The unfortunate zamindars have not received even the half loaf that, proverbially, is better than no bread. It is not necessary to dwell on this painful fact, but only to prove it. I do so by citing the recently published Settlement Officer's Manual for the North-Western Provinces.

At p. 131 Mr. Vincent Smith says:—"It is to be feared that the instruction of the Directors to refrain from taxing unexhausted improvements has often been lost sight of, and *I cannot find any mention of respect shown for such improvements except in*

Mr. S. M. Moens' settlement report for Bareilly (p. 156), and Mr. C. A. Elliott's rent-rate reports for Shamsabad East, and Kaimganj in Farakhabad."

And he gives the following quotation from a despatch of the local Government, dated 2nd March 1874:—"This principle of respecting improvements made by the owner has been laid down in theory in the settlement directions for these provinces, and endeavour is no doubt sometimes made to give effect to it in more marked and exceptional cases, but, as a rule, it is lost sight of, and it is probably impossible under our existing system of settlement to give it anything approaching full effect."

(2.) *What are the requirements of equity in the treatment of (Indian) tenants' improvements by landlords, and of (Indian) landlords' improvements by the State?*

The following attempt to define these requirements is offered as a contribution to the subject, needing, probably, much modification before it can be accepted as final or complete.

The right to improve the land, and the duty of improving it, seem to belong to, and rest upon, the same persons, and to devolve together.

Primarily and preferentially it seems to be the right and duty of the owner, that is, the rent-receiver, to improve. When, however, this right and duty are not exercised and discharged in a reasonable time, they seem to devolve upon the tenant, or rent-payer, and to authorise him to claim permission to improve.

Whoever makes improvements, the increased produce resulting therefrom is the outcome of the labour and capital of the improver, and of the inherent qualities of the soil.

As the labour and capital are the property of the improver, whether landlord or tenant, and the inherent qualities of the soil are the property of the landlord, the right to acquire some share of the increased produce resulting from a tenant's improvement equitably accrues to his landlord.

The special function of equity, in this connexion, is to distribute fairly between these two producing causes, the increase effected, and to settle such equitable terms as shall secure to the improving tenant the liberal remuneration of his labour and outlay, without depriving the landlord of the means of acquiring the share due to the inherent qualities of the soil.

The preferential right of the landlord to improve requires that, before the authority applied to permits a tenant to improve, opportunity should be given to the landlord of deciding whether he will exercise his option of making the improvement himself

or will join with the tenant in making it, or leave it wholly to him.

The fact that the inherent qualities of the soil which make an improvement possible belong to the landlord, confers on the landlord the right of buying up the tenant's improvement, after a reasonable period, varying with the return to the tenant's outlay yielded by the improvement.

This right, however, does not permanently survive to the landlord.

The period when the landlord might equitably exercise this right of purchase, would probably arrive when the aggregate return to outlay amounted to half of the actual outlay, with interest at the rate at which the tenant could have borrowed the capital expended.

The price at which the landlord might purchase should be, as nearly as possible, the sum required at the time of the purchase to construct a similar improvement, in the same locality, yielding the same advantages, in the shape of increased letting value, to an equal area of similar land.

Until this price has been paid, directly or indirectly, the landlord has no right to enhance the tenant's rent on account of any increase to the letting value of his holding caused by the improvement.

When the time for purchase arrives, it is open to the landlord to propose to postpone for a certain period the exercise of his right of purchase, on condition that during such period a portion of the profits of the improvement should be annually set off as the equivalent of an instalment of the purchase-money and of interest on the unpaid instalments.

If the landlord fails either to purchase directly at the proper time, or to arrange for an indirect purchase, the only indulgence that can be shown to him consistently with the paramount necessity of encouraging to the utmost the exercise of thrift, energy, and foresight, is to fix a further period at which it shall be open to him to purchase half the improvement, but after which, if such right of purchase is not exercised, the whole benefit of the improvement shall vest permanently in the tenant.

An improving tenant should always have the power of selling or mortgaging to his landlord his property in his improvement, and of selling it to a tenant coming in in his place. But in the latter case the landlord should have a right of pre-emption.

In India, in the temporarily settled districts, the rights here defined as belonging to the landlord seem to belong half to the zamindar-landlord and half to the State-landlord; and in the ryotwari districts wholly to the State, as regards improvements made by the registered ryots.

There is an essential difference between the rights of the State in respect of improvements made by zamindars, and in respect of those made by ryots ; the essence of the difference lying in the fact that the ownership of the inherent qualities of the soil is shared between the State and the zamindar, but does not vest at all in the ryot.

It seems to follow that the State's right, in respect of a zamindar's improvement, can extend only to acquiring, by direct or indirect purchase, one half of such improvement, and that whatever degree of privilege and protection vests in the ryot in respect of his improvements against his landlord, whether zamindar or State, vests *a fortiori*, and to a still greater extent, in the zamindar in respect of his improvements against his co-proprietor, the State.

There is, however, one exception to this stronger position of the zamindar, and that is, that on the principle of *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, the public interests require that it should be open to the State at any period to acquire by purchase the whole of a ryot's improvement, or the half of a zamindar's improvement.

The right and duty of improving the land in India are shared, in the temporarily settled districts, between the State and the zamindar.

The right of improving does not devolve on the ryot until both of his landlords, the zamindar and the State, have failed to improve.

(3). *Is the standard thus set up satisfied by the non-taxation principle as applied in Bombay and Madras, and by the recoupment principle as applied in the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab ?*

As, in the ryotwari districts of Madras and Bombay, the Government fails to exercise its right of purchase, whether direct or indirect, of the ryot's improvements, and abstains, at all events in theory, from encroaching on assets produced by such improvements, it seems that equity is satisfied as regards the ryot, but that the legitimate development of the revenue, and the interests of the general tax-payer, are seriously neglected. I here refer to the principles professed, not to the way in which they may be applied in practice.

It must be left to observers in these Presidencies to say whether the principle of non-taxation of improvements is strictly enforced. In at least one Madras district this does not seem to have been the case. Mr. Phillips says :—"The Bellary district is one that, above all others, requires wells. What is the reason of their

non-existence or their comparative scarcity? The main reason is probably the following, that formerly land irrigated by private wells was assessed as wet land. Here was an incentive to enterprise and energy, here a stimulus to improved cultivation! What object was there for a ryot to dig a well when he knew his assessment would be at once quadrupled or multiplied even ten-fold? No wonder that Mr. Ballard, Madras member of the Famine Commission, should have had lately to call upon the Collector of Bellary to report why in F. 1281 (1874) there were only 12,331 wells in the Bellary district as against 16,252 in F. 1262 (1855) We believe it is comparatively recently that land irrigated by private wells was reduced to the highest dry assessment of the village in which they were situated, provided that this was not less than one rupee. This relaxation of the former prohibitive rule has not yet had time to show its good effects, especially as bad seasons have lately preponderated. For purposes of irrigation each taluq requires at least five thousand wells. It is to be hoped that under the more favourable rule, and after the clearing off of debts incurred during the famine, the cultivators may be induced to turn their attention in this direction. But the new rule, though an improvement, is not yet what it should be. For new wells, not a pice of extra assesment should be imposed, much less the highest assessment for dry land. The Bombay Government are fully alive to the importance of this." (A. Blacker Pamphlet; 1878, page 19).

I borrow from Mr. Phillips' pamphlet (page 20) his citation of the Bombay orders on this subject, as they show that the interests of the State are being sacrificed because, in Bombay, it is not seen that the State rights in the inherent water-bearing properties of the soil, and consequent right to acquire some of the profits of improvements which bring those properties into use, might be easily and equitably enforced by the direct or indirect purchase of the ryot's wells after a reasonable period.

These orders are :—

"That in the case of old wells constructed before the first settlement, all special water assessment should be abandoned, and the maximum jerayet (dry) rate alone levied.

"That in the case of new wells constructed subsequent to the first settlement, the ordinary dry crop-rate should be imposed without any addition whatever on account of the new wells." (G. R. No. 1,028, February 25th, 1874.)

"A maximum jerayet (dry) rate should clearly not be imposed in cases where a well has been constructed since the introduction of the survey, and where that alone, and not the actual quality of the soil, warrants the imposition. To do so would in

effect be to tax improvements made during the currency of a settlement, and would be in contravention of Section 30 of the Survey Act. *The only principle on which such a proceeding would be justifiable would be in consideration of the water-bearing properties of the soil.* But the Survey officers have admitted their inability to act on this principle generally, and the result of the proposed system would be to tax the man whose enterprise and labour have induced him to sink a well, while his neighbour, whose land may possess precisely the same properties, escapes the extra burden, simply because he has not availed himself of his opportunities." (G. R. No. 4,050, August 22nd, 1871).

In comparing the recoupment principle with the suggested equitable standard the question whether the principle is actually applied need not again be raised. The issue at this point for decision is whether, if applied, it compensates zamindar and tenant to the extent that equity seems to require.

Equity, as we have seen, seems to demand for a ryot's improvement:—

(1) The untaxed enjoyment by him of the whole profits for a reasonable period, extending, the writer suggests, till half of the outlay has been recouped with interest;

(2) The payment to him, either directly or indirectly, of the sum required to make the improvement as it stands at the time of purchase;

(3) When indirect purchase is resorted to, an express contract between landlord and tenant as to the terms and period of repayment;

(4) The postponement until the purchase has been completed, of any enhancement on account of increase to letting value caused by the improvement;

(5) The fixation of a further reasonable period at which, by paying half the cost, the landlord might acquire half the ryot's property in the improvement, but after which, if such acquisition did not take place, the whole property in the improvement would vest absolutely in the ryot;

(6) The right to sell or mortgage the improvement to the landlord, and to sell it to an incoming tenant, pre-emption being reserved to the landlord.

To zamindars' improvements the fifth of these stipulations would not apply, but

(7) The superior landlord's right of acquisition would extend to only half the improvement.

Under the recoupment principle, as applied to zamindars' improvements, the first and third of these requirements are not satisfied. There is, as yet, no such thing as the direct form of

purchase, required by the second stipulation. Either the indirect form of purchase is presumed to take place in ten or twenty years as in the Panjaub, or the period during which it may be presumed to have taken place is to be calculated by the intelligent discretion of the settlement officer, as in the North-Western Provinces. No sort of precise provision is made as to what will be considered reasonable interest, or as to allowances for cost of maintenance, or average rate of profit to be presumed. Consequently the zamindars are quite in the dark as to the way in which the settlement officer of the future will deal with their improvements, and confidence is not inspired.

Whether the fourth requirement is satisfied will depend, in Oudh and the North-West Provinces, on the degree of intelligence that accompanies the settlement officer's discretion, and on the accuracy with which he collects the necessary data. In the Panjaub the hit-or-miss twenty years rule can very rarely hit the precise period at which the indirect form of payment has been fully made. In most cases the true mark must be missed, and too little compensation given, or too much.

It is difficult to account for the acceptance of the recoupment principle, as applied in Upper India, except by supposing that the local Governments, when dealing with the subject, forgot the true economic analysis of profits on the outlay of capital; over-estimated the gains, and under-rated the losses, the risks, and the costs of maintenance of works of improvements; and measured their treatment of the question less by the high standard of western equity than by the lower criterion furnished by the practice of past native Governments.

It does not seem to have been remembered that an 'improving' zamindar not only furnishes the capital, but superintends its employment, and runs whatever risk there may be of losing it.

"The remuneration which is obtained in any country for mere abstinence, is measured by the current rate of interest on the best security, such security as precludes any appreciable chance of losing the principal. What a person expects to gain, who superintends the employment of his own capital, is always more, and generally much more, than this. The rate of profit greatly exceeds the rate of interest. The surplus is partly compensation for risk. By lending his capital, on unexceptionable security, he runs little or no risk. But if he embarks in business on his own account, he always exposes his capital to some, and in many cases to very great, danger of partial or total loss. For this danger he must be compensated, otherwise he will not incur it. He must likewise be remunerated for the devotion of his time and labour. The gross profits from capital, the gains returned to those who supply

the funds for production, must suffice for these three purposes. They must afford a sufficient equivalent for abstinence, indemnity for risk, and remuneration for the labour and skill required for superintendence. The three parts into which profit may be considered as resolving itself, may be described respectively as interest, insurance, and wages of superintendence."—(Principles of Political Economy, Book II, Ch. XV, Section I).

This canon is the justification of my suggestion that improvements should be wholly untaxed, and wholly free from the landlord's right of acquisition, until the aggregate profits have amounted to half the outlay, *plus* interest.

The omission to allow for insurance and wages of superintendence is the chief flaw in the recoupment principle as applied in Upper India, and, apparently, in England also, under the Agricultural Holdings Act (Cap: 92, Sec. 7).

Imperfect emancipation from the 'damnosa hereditas' of extortionate practice bequeathed by the displaced native Governments, accounts, probably, for some part of the want of sensitiveness to equity of which I complain. The emancipation already achieved has been so extensive, that the nooks and corners into which it has still to be carried escape notice.

Narcissus-like, the founders of the Thomasonian school seem to have been so fascinated with the charms of their own symmetrical measures, as to have sunk into forgetfulness of their possible defects. The thirty years settlements are models of moderation when contrasted with the revenue systems of the later Moghal empire. But they are not perfection. Some relics of the evil 'old system of imposing an additional rent on every improvement,'—inveighed against by Munro in 1797,—still survive in 1882. It is surely time now that they should be swept utterly away.

The extent to which the existing protection to tenants, improvements, where the recoupment principle is applied, falls short of the apparent demands of equity, varies considerably in the different provinces.

In Oudh, the thirty years' limit in bar of compensation, is objectionable, not because this period, in a great number of cases, may not be enough to adequately compensate the tenant, but because it would be insufficient in some cases, and chiefly because it is accompanied by no such provisions as would afford complete security to the tenant that the period would be extended when insufficient, and to the landlord that the full, fair compensation, and no more, would be payable by him when seeking to enhance or eject. In other words, the rule may secure the first and second requirements, but there is no certainty that it will do so, and no demonstration to the tenant that it will do so.

The express contract constituting the third requirement is not stipulated for. The fourth requirement, like the first and second, may or may not be satisfied. The absence of the fifth requirement combined with the absence of the third, deprives the tenant of the privilege of acquiring a permanent property in the improvement by the landlord's failure to purchase, or to contract for indirect purchase, at the proper time. Thus the stimulus to the tenant is weakened, and an undesirable inducement is given to an indolent landlord to abstain from taking any active share in improvements.

The Punjab rule only differs from the Oudh rule in making the improvements of a tenant-at-will lapse, at his death, to his landlord. It does this by substituting the words "any tenant, or, *in the case of a tenant with a right of occupancy*, the person from whom he has inherited" for the words of the Oudh Rent Act, "any tenant, or the person from whom he has inherited."

This rule of lapse seems to be a pernicious curtailment of the tenant's right, directly opposed to the principle of security.

The rule in the North-Western Provinces is superior to that in the Punjab and Oudh, since it discards the recoupment principle, and the assumption that complete recoupment takes place in thirty years. But it is inferior to the rule in those provinces in failing to forbid enhancement, as well as ejectment, until compensation has been paid. In common with the rule of Oudh and the Punjab, it provides for indirect payment by a beneficial lease on permission to hold at a favourable rate, but fails to require such holding to be arranged for at a particular period, or to provide for lapse to the tenant if the landlord allows the proper period to pass.

It allows sale of a tenant's holding to convey to the in-comer the outgoing tenant's property in his improvement, but reserves no right of pre-emption of the improvement to the landlord.

The draft bill of the Bengal Rent Commission, already noticed, goes beyond the requirements of equity in favour of the occupancy-ryot, and is, therefore, unfair to the landlord. On the other hand, in the case of ordinary tenants, by proposing to deduct part of the amount due for compensation for each year from the beginning of the tenancy, it infringes the first requirement. It provides no right of lapse to the tenant. It justly requires that any sum necessary to put the improvement into good repair, should be taken into consideration, and also any deterioration of the holding caused by the act of the ryot. It allows no compensation for improvements by ryots who have held for less than three years continuously. Why this exception is made is not apparent. The sections, as drafted, make improvements lapse to the landlord on a tenant's death, since the words, common to the other Acts, are omitted:—"or the person from whom he has inherited." I do not think that

this omission can be intentional; it is so inconsistent with the general tenor of the Commission's recommendations.

The draft tenancy bill for the Central Provinces (sections 39 to 44) goes further than the rent law in other provinces, in the direction of reducing the area of dispute between landlord and tenant. It presumes a preferential right on the part of landlords to improve, except as regards the holdings of occupancy-tenants. *It contemplates the issue of rules prescribing how ordinary tenants wishing to improve are to give notice to their landlords, and fixing the period within which the landlord's preferential right may be exercised.* It precludes an ejected tenant from receiving compensation when the improvement has been made on the landlord's home-farm (*sir*) without the landlord's express consent; when made without due notice, or before the expiry of the time allowed for exercise of the landlord's preferential right; or when made under a contract binding him not to claim compensation. And the tenant is deprived of the power of contracting himself, in future, out of the protective scope of the Act.

These provisions are, I think, distinctly in advance of the law of the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and Oudh, and of the draft bill for Bengal.

(4.) The Famine Commission's analysis of the causes of the failure of the Land Improvement Act omits also to notice *the friction between landlord and tenant produced by the absence of definite equitable rules regulating their respective rights about improvements.*

In the North-Western Provinces, the want, I believe, is much felt of some speedy, cheap, and simple procedure for enhancing rents on lands improved by the owner. A landlord wishing to improve is deterred by the certainty that he will have extreme difficulty in securing for himself the increased produce resulting from the improvement, as well as by the uncertainty as to how it will be treated at the next revision of assessment.

In Oudh it is a matter of daily experience that the compensation sections of the Rent Act have led landholders, as a rule, to refuse permission to a tenant to improve, until he has agreed in writing never to claim compensation. This unpleasant result is not all the fault of the landlords by any means. It is chiefly attributable to the immoderate awards for compensation which are apt to be given when a Rent Court relies on a local enquiry by commission, and is unable to inspect the improvement itself.

In the Rae Bareilly district the extraordinary ease with which both rent and revenue are collected is a proof that general friction between landlord and tenant is exceptionally slight. But I can state from personal experience that even here

infinite harm is being done by the unsatisfactory state of the law about improvements, infinite delay incurred in protecting from drought a tract specially exposed to its attacks.

In January last an anonymous correspondent, professing to be neither a resident nor a tenant of the district, assured me that but for the obstacles thrown in their way by the landholders, most of the tenants could and would provide irrigation for their holdings. In particular, he said, numbers of the *kachha* wells made during the drought of 1880 would be converted into masonry wells, if only the landlord's opposition could be prevented. District officers are not in the habit of attending to anonymous communications, but I confess that this one made a considerable impression on me. Its truth is strikingly confirmed by the fact that, where the obstacle referred to is removed, the tenants do improve on a large scale. I give one or two instances. The Estates Officer of Rae Bareilly, Mr. W. Blennerhassett, has devised very successful means for encouraging tenants to improve. A tenant wishing to make a masonry well is assisted, partly with materials, partly with a cash contribution, partly with a loan free of interest; sometimes with the grant of a small plot of ground to plant a grove on. And, when desired, a guarantee is given, protecting the tenant from enhancement for a considerable period. That the terms given are thought equitable, and that tenants will improve actively when fairly treated, is, I think, shown by the result. During the year ending 30th September 1881, 458 masonry wells were made by tenants on these terms in the estates under Mr. Blennerhassett's management.

The essence of his method is that it settles the compensation difficulty at the time when it can be settled most easily. The tenant receives compensation that satisfies him at the time the well is made, and, in return, readily renounces all claim to compensation in the future. The example is one that will, I hope, be widely followed. I can say this with perfect freedom, because this good work has been wholly devised and carried through by Mr. Blennerhassett and the managers under him.

In the same district (Rae Bareilly) Raja Jag Mohan Singh of Chandapur applies the same principle. He gives to an improving tenant a rent-free plot on which to plant a small grove. This form of compensation is greatly liked by Hindus, to whom, as Mr. Bennett told us the other day, the planting of a tree is a duty only less sacred than the procreation of a son and the digging of a well. During the last two years Raja Jag Mohan Singh's tenants have built 110 masonry wells. Rana Shankar Baksh, (the Vice-president of the Talukdar's Association) is working the same plan on his fine estate. These gentlemen represent that

the extension of tenants' improvements by this means would be greatly facilitated if the landlords' conveyances of the rent-free grants, and the tenants' agreements, waiving claims to future compensation, could be exempted from the troublesome and expensive requirements of the Registration and Stamp Acts. Other good landlords in this peaceful district,—an Arcadia of happy memories to all who have served in it,—are doing well in this matter. The Rani of Tiloi has helped her tenants to make 94 masonry wells, and Lal Jung Bahadur Singh of Siwan has helped his people to make forty two.

Want of space alone prevents me from carrying further the demonstration, that friction between landlord and tenant, caused by the absence of clear and equitable definition of their respective rights, and of simple procedure for carrying their rights into effect, is a potent obstacle to progress in land improvement in India.

(5.) Another of the causes of failure, not noticed by the Famine Commission, is *the disinclination to improve, arising from the greater lucrativeness of money-lending as an investment.*

The average return to outlay on ordinary improvements, such as wells, is probably about ten per cent. This, though a splendid investment to the European mind, bears a very different aspect to the zamindar, who sees the money-lender getting twenty-four per cent. and more. As Mr. Irwin says, ("Garden of India," p. 315):—"The few small farmers who have a little spare cash do not apply it to the soil, but lend it to their poorer neighbours . . . at 24 or 36 per cent. interest, which undoubtedly, as far as they are concerned, is a more profitable investment." Where mere money-making is the object, an investment in improvements is a very feeble attraction. Where the ruling passion is the more general and more reputable love of land, a mortgage on Naboth's vineyard is infinitely more tempting than a *palka* well on the home farm.

The axe will be effectively laid to the roots of this obstacle whenever the problem is solved of bringing capital, borrowed by the State at English rates of interest, to the assistance of the rural classes, whether landlords or tenants.

For the direct effect of such application, on any large scale, must be to bring down the present usurious rates very considerably.

The influence of the Government might further be effectually wielded by taking very much more trouble than is possible under the present Jack-of-all-trades system of district administration, to implant in the minds of landowners a strong sense of their duty to improve. When things are made distinctly pleasant for the landowner who protects his estate from drought, and distinctly unpleasant for the Shylocks and Bassanios who neglect this duty for

usury or extravagance, a quantity of capital will be poured into the land, which at present circulates in much less wholesome channels. The requisite fulcrum for leverage of this kind might be got by inserting in the engagements taken at all future settlements, clauses binding the landowners to satisfy the Government from time to time that they are developing the agricultural resources of their estates and protecting them from drought, to a reasonable extent, and binding the Government to treat the improvements made liberally and equitably, the terms being definitely specified.

(6.) Lastly, the Famine Commission have overlooked *the extent to which the failure to improve is traceable to the neglect of the chief landlord, the State, to take any active share in ordinary village improvements.*

Every body knows, though no one acts as if he knew it, that in India the State is the chief landlord. In the ryotwari districts it is, practically, the sole landlord.

As remarked by Sir John Strachey in the Legislative Council in January 1871, when introducing the Land Improvement Bill, "the Government of India was not only a Government, but the receiver, as the representative of the public, of that portion of the rent of the land which had belonged from time immemorial to the State; *and in its capacity of chief landlord of the country, duties devolved on the Government for the improvement of the land and for the advancement generally of agriculture, beyond the ordinary duties of a Government, and similar in kind to those duties which a good landlord had everywhere to perform.*"

In the despatch describing the nature of the Bill to the Secretary of State, Lord Mayo wrote:—

"There is perhaps, no country in the world in which the State has so immediate and direct an interest in such (agricultural) questions. The Government of India is not only a Government but a chief landlord. The land-revenue, which yields twenty millions of her annual income, is derived from that proportion of the rent which belongs to the State, and not to individual proprietors.

Throughout the greater part of India every measure for the improvement of the land enhances the value of the property of the State. The duties which in England are performed by a good landlord, fall in India, in a great measure, upon the Government. Speaking generally, the only Indian landlord who can command the requisite knowledge and capital is the State. The Government has always, at least by its legislation, recognised the duty." (Hunter's Life of Lord Mayo, II, p. 322).

What the Government of Lord Mayo seems to have failed to see fully, and what has not been fully seen yet, is, that

the duties of a good landlord are not discharged by simply opening a land improvement loan business by which a few thousand rupees are now and then advanced at remunerative interest, on the best possible security, not only without the smallest risk of loss, but with the certainty, as matters have hitherto been administered, that the State itself will reap some of the direct profits of the capital thus put into the land, as well as the indirect profits by insurance against drought.

The Government of India is justly proud of its achievements in canal-making. But what do these achievements amount to? The first of the canals, the Delhi branch of the Western Jumna Canal, was opened sixty two years ago, in 1820. "The capital expenditure on all the irrigation works in British India at the end of the year 1879-80 is stated to have been £20,298,800." (Famine Commission Report, II, p. 154.) That is, in all these years, the good landlord's aggregate expenditure on works of irrigation, to which "among the means that may be adopted for giving India direct protection from famine arising from drought, the first place must unquestionably be assigned," has actually amounted to one year's rental.

And this phenomenon has occurred in an estate on which four-fifths of the cultivated area is to this day unirrigated; where, in the enormous tracts represented by the North-Western Provinces, Madras, Bombay, Oudh, the Punjab, and Sindh, two-thirds of the cultivated area are more or less liable to drought, and require to be protected; and where the average difference in the State rental from irrigated and unirrigated land is as the difference between sixteen and five. (India in 1880, p. 230).

In the ryotwari districts of Madras only one quarter of the cultivated area is protected by irrigation. The State is there the sole landlord. It has occupied that position for more than eighty years.

In all that time it has protected, by Government irrigation works, only two-sevenths of this quarter, or less than one-ninth of the cultivated area.

It is not surprising that so little is accomplished under existing systems. In Bengal the permanent settlement debars the State from making improvements from which it could reap no direct fruit. In the ryotwari districts it has been hoped that the non-taxation of improvements would induce the ryots to improve. In the temporarily settled provinces it has been hoped that the magic of property, as represented by thirty years settlements, would secure progress. In such vain expectations the duty of the good landlord, so far as irrigation works other than canals are concerned, seems to have been absolutely neglected in Northern India, and very seriously neglected in Southern and Western India. The district officer,

the representative of the good landlord, is naturally not master of this branch of his business, since, though he is Jack of a good many other trades, this one is left out of the list.

The Government orders, at all events in Northern India, are almost, if not wholly, silent, about this sphere of duty. The energies and intellects of the district officers are frittered away on all sorts of fatuous little trifles that clothe no backs and fill no bellies. The one paramount duty in India,—to “draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul,”—the duty which outweighs almost all the rest in force of direct effect on the happiness or misery of the people, is not practised. It is not even preached.

This neglect is bearing evil fruit. Not only is progress not secured; deterioration is not prevented. I give one or two instances. In Barabanki (Oudh):—

“The universal cry was one of uniform decay, bad crops, and rack-rents A mile south of Fatehpur, one Raja Gobardhan dug a great tank. . . . An expenditure of Rs. 50 upon earthwork would have filled up the breach, but there are joint owners deeply in debt and quarrelling; consequently a great and picturesque public work is useless. Crops all around it were dying from want of water, and beneath its massive rampart the peasants were laboriously raising a scanty and costly supply of water with the primitive levers and the fragile pitcher. Just as the builder left it unfinished two hundred years ago, so it is now. So rarely in the course of the centuries does an energetic and enterprising landowner come forward. *Hundreds of other tanks, which the industry of ancient times provided, are allowed to silt up,* although a little expenditure of labour in carrying away the deposit to the fields would be doubly repaid by the excellent manure so afforded, and the increased capacity of the basin for storage of water. But the tenants will not labour to improve fields from which they can be ejected whenever the spring crop has been reaped.” (Oudh Gazette, I, p. 239). In Fyzabad, “the evidences of poverty, everywhere apparent, are ruined wells which the people have not means to repair, far less to build new ones. The artificial tanks are now generally in a sad state of disrepair. A very little labour would restore hundreds of these tanks to their former usefulness.” (Ibid. I, p. 428).

In Madras “there is a general consent that the measures now adopted for the maintenance of the tanks in efficiency are wholly inadequate.” (Famine Commission Report, II, p. 163.) In Bellary, as noted above, in nineteen years the number of wells in use diminished by twenty-four per cent.

I believe such instances to be the rule, not the exception.

As long as this state of things continues, the British administration of India exposes itself to the charge that it neglects one of its gravest and most obvious duties. The chief landlord of an enormous country, in which four-fifths of the people are closely connected with the soil, and stand in urgent need of their landlord's active help, it not only leaves the resources of the estate undeveloped to an extent that is not justified by any narrowness of its own means for developing them, but fails even to check deterioration, or to give to its co-proprietors and tenants adequate inducements to do their share and its own of the work. The conclusion seems to be very plainly indicated that until the State landlord puts his own shoulder to the wheel of rural progress, it will still stick fast in the mire of apathy, mistrust, and indebtedness. The joint estate will still lie unimproved and unsecured. Debt and despair will still destroy the happiness of the landowners. The ryot will groan and travail as now, undelivered from the bondage of usury, unsaved from the maw of famine.

The State itself will continue to be periodically driven into unpleasant courses, here kindling disaffection by objectionable taxation, there throwing away the confidence of its landowners and the loyalty of its servants by doubtful dealings with pledges and privileges.

Some day all this will be changed. The seed that Lord Mayo began to sow will be sown again, and will yield a glorious harvest. The duties of a good landlord will at last begin to be discharged. Some man, some Henry Lawrence or Mayo, 'with heart, head, hand, like some of the simple great ones gone,' will yet be given to India, 'to scatter plenty o'er a smiling land, and read his history in a nation's eyes.' A fame nobler than the fame of Clive and Wellesley awaits that Viceroy of the future who shall undo the heavy burdens of the ryot, and break the yoke of the usurer, and fill the hungry with good things; who shall repair the breach, and build the old waste places, and be to India "as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

Having now tried to make more complete the Famine Commission's analysis of the failure of the Land Improvement Act, it remains to suggest some of the means, other than those already mentioned, by which this failure may be changed into success.

The key to the position seems to lie in setting free to the fullest possible extent the 'improving' energies of the zamindar and the ryot, first by securing to them absolutely whatever share in the profits of, or whatever compensation for, their outlay, may be prescribed by equity; next, by convincing them of the purity of

the State's intentions, and gaining their real confidence ; and, lastly, by so dividing the joint enterprise between State, zamindar and ryot as to get from each the greatest amount of that sort of working force which he can most cheaply and effectively supply. The State has, in the greatest abundance, all that the ryot and the zamindar lack,—unlimited command of capital at four per cent. or less ; ready access to the highest engineering skill ; a staff of servants endowed to the full with the Englishman's birthright of energy, resource, delight in enterprise, disgust at failure. On their part the zamindar and the ryot have all the knowledge and skill required for ordinary works, command of materials and labour at the cheapest rates, unwearying patience and industry, and admirable facilities both for supervising construction and for arranging the details of the fair development of rental.

The first thing to be done is to settle the requirements of equity as to profits and compensation. About this matter suggestions have already been offered. The next, to insert corresponding stipulations in the engagements taken from revenue-payers, and in the revenue laws, and to recast the improvements sections of the various Rent Acts. These changes in the revenue and rent laws should include provisions for the adjustment by courts or officers of disputes about improvements between landlord and tenant, and also some such concrete guarantee as the giving of a certificate to improving zamindars and ryots for every improvement made by them after a specified date. Having thus begun to establish confidence and to reduce friction, and by these means to set free such energy as ryot and zamindar can exert without further help from the State than is represented by advances under the Land Improvement Act, and by aid in the adjustment of disputes, the next step should be to map out and measure the work to be done with the view of ascertaining the extent to which the State must itself actively co-operate.

The field to be worked over is an enormous one. But, as the fairy says in *Phantastes*, "size is nothing, it is a mere matter of relation." In relation to the vastness of the interests at stake, and to the splendid administrative strength at the Government's command, the extent of the area to be examined is not formidable, nor are the difficulties of thoroughly dealing with it really serious. Time and method and the command of the services of expert land-agents are all that is wanted for getting at the requirements of any individual estate anywhere. Time and method and the services of experts on a scale sufficiently developed are all that is wanted for getting at the requirements of the great congeries of separate landed estates which constitute British India.

Some of the data for roughly computing the dimensions of the

work to be done, may be gathered from the Famine Commission Report (II, pp. 71 to 77, 86 and 90). The area ordinarily cultivated is returned at 194,950,500 acres, of which 167,950,000 acres are under food crops, and 27,000,500 acres are under 'non-food' crops. The Famine Commission believe that, of the area under food crops, 102,350,000 acres, or sixty per cent., require to be protected from drought.

It is, I think, reasonable to assume that on the non-food crop area the same proportion of protected to unprotected cultivation subsists as on the food crop area. On this assumption sixty per cent, or 116,970,300 acres, out of the whole area ordinarily cultivated, require protection.

But the whole of this area does not, at all events at present, urgently call for State inspection. In Bengal, excepting Orissa, the Permanent Settlement relieves the State from the duty of prosecuting land improvement on the same principles as elsewhere. In the Central Provinces and Burmah irrigation is said to be not required as a protection against drought. In Berar the fact that the revenues are not retained by the British Government makes its duty in this connexion less pressing than in other provinces. For the purpose of the present suggestions the Famine Commission's data will be reviewed only so far as they relate to Madras, Bombay, Sindh, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab.

In these six provinces the area ordinarily cultivated is 115,750,000 acres. Twenty-three per cent. of this, or 26,550,000 acres, is believed to be the area ordinarily irrigated. Of the portion under food crops, sixty-seven per cent. is considered to require protection. Applying this percentage to the whole area ordinarily under cultivation, the total extent of cultivation requiring protection would be 77,552,500 acres, in a hundred and twenty-two districts, at a general average of 635,676 acres in each.

Besides this magnificent field for the joint enterprise of State, zamindar, and ryot, there is the further scope for improvement represented by the thirty-three per cent. of cultivation, or 38,197,500 acres (about 313,094 acres per district) considered to be fairly protected from drought, but much of which has artificial irrigation from ponds, tanks, or rivers, of a kind less reliable than that afforded by canals and wells. Lastly, there is an enormous culturable area, amounting in five of these provinces to 62,464,000 acres (or about 524,907 acres in each of 119 districts), besides "large areas" in Sindh, which "could also be brought under cultivation if the means of irrigation were provided."

Of course, a great deal of this culturable area is either very poor land, or is required for pasture and fuel preserves, but a great deal

of it, possibly a third, would repay the cost of irrigation and tillage. For instance, in Sindh, "there are millions of acres suitable for wheat, and there is no reason why Sindh should not become one of the great wheat-supplying countries. Having the Indus alongside, it would be free of the railway carriage that handicaps Northern India. There are no engineering difficulties; and General Strachey, reporting on the subject in 1868, shows that the State might expend six to ten millions with a certain return of eight to fourteen per cent." (*Calcutta Review*, January 1881, p. 107). In the plains of Hissar, also, considerable areas, though not so large as in Sindh, could be cultivated if irrigation were provided. "In the Multan Division some nine million of acres of fairly fertile soil are ready for cultivation if only water can be given to them." In Bombay, "there is ample margin for the extension of cultivation," but it does not consist of good land. (Famine Commission Report II, p. 76.)

My remaining suggestions will be confined to the first of these three areas, that is, to the seventy-seven and a half millions of cultivated acres in the six provinces, believed to need protection from drought, and averaging, roughly, 635,676 acres in each of a hundred and twenty-two districts. An officer might be deputed in these provinces to collect from the settlement reports, gazetteers, and other sources, such recorded facts about the irrigation in them as would show how far the unirrigated area can be classified as irrigable or unirrigable at a remunerative cost, or as hopelessly unirrigable, and as regards the area believed to be irrigable, how far it is believed to be irrigable by the various kinds of wells, or by tanks, or canals, embankments, or other works.

Probably enough information is already on record for most districts, to show plainly which kind of irrigation seems to be indicated for each considerable tract, and the Government could thus obtain a fairly accurate idea of the broad divisions into which the work of dealing with the 77½ millions of acres would fall.

Next, there might be prepared for each revenue division an irrigation report, based on existing records and maps, and illustrated by hydrographic charts on the scale of one inch to the mile. From the atlas sheets of the Revenue Survey, already drawn on this scale, the Surveyor-General could probably easily supply skeleton district maps, showing the names of villages (*mauzahs* only, not hamlets) their boundaries, the village sites, roads, tanks, swamps, lakes, streams, rivers, and ravines. As soon as such maps were furnished to a district, an irrigation officer might be deputed to it to procure, with the district officer's help, the necessary irrigational details; to note them, on some uniform principle, and

for each village, on the skeleton map, and to prepare from these data the hydrographic chart and irrigation report.

Such facts would be shown as the depth to which wells have to be sunk; the different kinds of well in use, and their average cost in different localities; the average area which each kind can irrigate thoroughly, and the further area which they can protect when necessary; the nature and extent of irrigation from rivers, canals, lakes, tanks, or other sources; the unprotected areas, with details as to the practicability of protecting them, and the kind of works considered appropriate, with rough estimates of their probable number and cost; the areas considered unirrigable, either absolutely, or relatively in view of the disproportion between probable cost and probable return.

I do not know how the case may be elsewhere, but am confident that in many districts of the North-West Provinces and Oudh such charts and reports could be compiled far more cheaply and quickly than might be supposed, and at a cost quite trifling when compared with the value of the result. I assume, of course, that the work would be made over to specially qualified officers, above the ordinary 'strength' of the district, and not thrown upon establishments already overburdened.

With this information before them for a district or division, the district officers, the Commissioner, and the local Government should be able to decide, once for all, what tracts must be left unprotected as far as irrigation works are concerned, and, of the rest, what areas should be reserved for protection by canals or other large works of a kind that could not be constructed either by the zamindars and ryots, or by the district officers, or by all of them working together. Things would now have reached this stage. The unprotected area in each district, roughly averaging 635,676 acres, will have been divided into three parts; the area to be left alone; the area to be protected by special State works; and the area to be dealt with by the ryots, zamindars, and district officers.

For purposes of illustration, let it be assumed that these areas will be found to be respectively, one quarter to be left alone, one quarter to be attacked by special State works, and one-half to be protected by the district officers, zamindars and ryots.

On this assumption, the scope for special State works would be one-fourth of 77½ million acres, or 19,375,000 acres. This assumed area is eleven times the area actually irrigated in 1878-79, from the State irrigation works of the North-West Provinces alone. (Famine Commission Report, II, p. 149). The 'productive capital outlay' on these works amounted, by that year, to £4,462,000 or £2. 11s. 4d. (above thirty rupees) per acre irrigated, and the net profits were 8·6 per cent. of the outlay.—(*I bid.*)

At this rate, the protection of the 19,375,000 acres would cost fifty millions (£49,729,167). Spread over thirty years, the enterprise would represent an annual capital outlay of £1,666,666 in a hundred and twenty-two districts. Distributed as the undertaking would be over six provinces, and controlled by four separate administrations, it does not seem to be at all too much to attempt.

The assumed area to be protected by ordinary works made by the joint or separate enterprise of zamindars, ryots, and district officers, is $38\frac{3}{4}$ million acres, or on a rough average about 317,623 acres to each of the hundred and twenty-two districts.

If it were resolved to spread this enterprise also over thirty years, the work to be done in each of the districts in each of those years would be to get minor irrigation works constructed capable of protecting 10,588 acres.

For the purpose of illustration, I take the probable cost of protection by such works at two-thirds the cost of protection by the North-Western Provinces canals, that is, at twenty rupees per acre. At this rate the average annual outlay in each district would be ($10,588 \times 20 =$) Rs. 2,11,760. Taking a masonry well costing Rs. 200, and protecting ten acres, as a fair type of minor irrigation works, 1,058 of such wells or works would on an average have to be annually constructed in each of the districts in each of the thirty years. And, as (Imperial Gazetteer, iv, p. 705) the six provinces contain 233,281 villages, or an average of 1,912 villages per district, the enterprise would amount to little more than getting one such well or work made in the year in every second village, or ten in each of 106 villages.

How this will strike other people I do not know, but it seems to me a perfectly manageable enterprise, requiring no very serious addition to existing establishments to carry it out.

It is not, however, at all necessary to show that no considerable increase of establishments will be wanted. For the proposed works would be directly remunerative, and would yield, probably, about ten per cent. on the outlay. Such minor works rarely occupy, in construction, more than a few months.

A charge of five per cent. on a year's outlay in a district would yield (Rs. 2,11,760 \div 20 =) Rs. 10,588. This would give Rs. 1,323 a month for eight months of the year. I believe that this would be more than enough. If so, then the cost of extra establishments to work the scheme, in the construction branch of it, would not exceed half of one year's profits.

Some such effort as is here outlined seems to be the very least that the Government should attempt. The ultimate aim should be to achieve a great deal more than this.

The experience gained in working the scheme would show whether the following business might not gradually be taken in hand :—

A complete inspection of the whole cultivated and culturable area of the temporarily settled and ryotwari districts; the ascertainment and record of—(1) the extent to which in every village its cultivated, and culturable area requires and admits of protection and improvement by the application of capital in simple ways; (2) the nature of the works required to be made, restored, or improved; (3) the probable cost of making, restoring, or improving them; (4) the probable increase to produce and letting value to be got by making the works; (5) the probable average annual deductions to be set aside for repairs and maintenance; (6) the probable average direct profits, and (7) the probable average indirect profits in a series of years, represented by produce, rent, and revenue saved from destruction, and risk of famine expenditure reduced or averted; the negotiation with the zamindars, through a suitable agency, for the gradual construction of such works at the joint cost of the State and themselves, but, as far as possible, under their supervision and management; similar negotiations with the ryots wherever, and to such extent as, the zamindar fails to co-operate satisfactorily; the inspection and valuation of each work as soon as finished, the cost being computed, not at public works rates, but at the village rates actually incurred; the determination of the area actually improved or protected by each work, and the levying on it of a fair enhancement of rent, payable by all fields benefited, full equitable allowance being made to tenants sharing the outlay; lastly, the drawing-up of agreements setting forth the actual cost, the amounts contributed to it by State, zamindar and ryot, the estimated direct profits, and the share of those profits assigned to each, and for how long, in the shape of increased revenue, rent, or share of produce.

Perhaps it will be objected that private enterprise will be checked if these proposals are adopted, and that the people will lean more and more on the Government, and rely less and less on themselves. I cannot find any validity in such an objection.

It is not a deadening of private enterprise to mark out definitely its true scope, to occupy an area which does not properly belong to it, and guarantee it against encroachment on its fair range and claims. My proposals aim at this definite marking out of the proper field for the joint and separate enterprise of State, landowner, and tenant in the great work of land-improvement in India; at showing each of the two great rural classes what it has got to do; at giving to each the strongest possible inducement to take up its fair share of the joint load, and effective help in

carrying it. I want to restore confidence; to bring into the business a strong, active, working partner, whom the zamiindar may in time learn to esteem and trust, instead of a distant, sleeping partner whom at present he cordially distrusts. I want to join hands and heart with him in a combined resolute effort for our mutual good; to work with him over the joint estate, field by field, village by village, taking the tenants with us. I want to lift from Issachar's patient shoulders our share of the double burden that is now dragging him down, and to help him to bear forward strongly his lightened load. If to get these things done is to deaden private enterprise, perhaps it might be better for private enterprise to be deadened after this fashion, than to be left dead-alive as at present.

ARTHUR HARINGTON.

THE QUARTER.

THE reading of the Financial Statement for the official year 1882-83, which took place on the 8th instant, and the passing of the Bills necessary to give effect to the fiscal changes embodied in it, are the most important domestic events that have occurred since the date of our last retrospect.

The regular estimates for the year just about to expire show an expected surplus of £1,577,000, instead of £855,000, as originally budgeted for. This favourable result has been attained in spite of repayments, aggregating £670,000, to the local Governments, on account of their contributions to the cost of the Afghan war, and of a further sum of £360,000 credited to them in connexion with the renewal of the provincial contracts, neither of which items was provided for in the Budget. On the other hand, the receipts were increased by the sum of about £250,000, to which extent the portion of the English contribution to the cost of the war credited in the accounts of the year exceeded the outgoings under this head. Practically, therefore, the surplus of the year may be set down at £2,357,000.

The estimates for the coming year provide for a small surplus of £285,000, after remitting the duties on piece-goods and other imported goods, except salt, opium, wine, beer, spirits, arms and ammunition, amounting in the aggregate to £1,108,000, and reducing the salt duties throughout India from Rs. 2-14 per maund in Bengal, and Rs. 2-8 elsewhere, to a uniform rate of Rs. 2 per maund, at a loss to the revenue of about £1,423,000. But for these and sundry other minor changes, the estimates for the year would have shown a surplus of over three millions.

The aggregate figures are, for 1881-82, Revenue £72,913,000, and Expenditure £71,336,000, as against Budget estimates of £70,160,000 and £69,305,000 respectively; and, for 1882-83, Revenue £66,459,000 and Expenditure £66,174,000.

Among heads of revenue the receipts from which are now expected to exceed the estimates, are Excise, better by £380,000; Opium, better by £1,137,000; and Railways, better by £1,137,000. In no case have the receipts under any of the regular heads fallen seriously below the estimates; though under the abnormal head of the English contribution to the Afghan war there is a reduction of £695,000, which sum has been credited to the accounts of 1880-81, instead of 1881-82. On the expenditure side, the most important items of increase are £210,000 under the head of loss

by exchange ; £287,000 under the head of ordinary public works, and £116,000 under the head of salt, while Frontier Railways show a decrease of £581,000 ; Opium of £201,000 ; Law and Justice, of £170,000 and Marine of £115,000.

In framing the estimates for the year 1882-83, it is noteworthy that the Opium receipts are put down at £7,250,000 as compared with £6,500,000 in the last Budget. This, however, is £588,000 less than the regular estimate for the current year, and will probably be exceeded. On the other hand, the net Railway receipts are taken at £468,000 less than in the current year. On the expenditure side, loss by exchange is taken at £519,000 less than in the current year, owing to a reduction in the Secretary of State's drafts from £17,200,000 to £15,592,000, and the net military expenditure is calculated at £15,260,000, as compared with £16,150,000 in 1881-82.

No Indian Finance Minister ever had a fairer opportunity, either of earning popularity by eliminating from the fiscal system of the country such elements as are odious to the people, or prejudicial to the interests of commerce, or of laying the foundations of a largely increased material prosperity by the inauguration of a scheme of public works in keeping with the requirements of the country.

To a great extent this opportunity appears to us to have been blindly thrown away. After providing for the remission of the Patwari Cess in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, a seasonable measure of relief, involving a sacrifice of £316,000 a year, and for a very necessary increase in the pay of the subordinate executive native service, Major Baring still found himself with a surplus of about two millions and three-quarters sterling available either for the remission of objectionable taxes, the reduction of debt, or the execution of reproductive works.

That opportunity should be taken of this favourable state of the revenue to abolish the remaining duties on foreign piece-goods was inevitable ; for not only was the Government pledged to carry out this measure whenever circumstances should enable it to do so without incurring the necessity of imposing fresh taxation on the country, but the effect of the late partial remission of the duties had been such as to render any other course indefensible, whether on financial or economical grounds. On the one hand, the proportion of duty-free to dutiable grey-goods imported had become so great, that the revenue derived from the latter had ceased to be worth the trouble of collecting ; on the other, the duty had acquired a distinctly sumptuary effect and had revolutionised the character of the trade to the grave injury of individual manufacturers. At the same time the process of distinguishing

between the two classes of goods was attended with disproportionate trouble to the Custom House officials and annoyance to importers. The case of bleached and coloured goods was not, perhaps, so urgent a one, but it would have obviously been a grave anomaly to handicap these goods with a duty of five per cent. merely because they had undergone a process deserving rather of encouragement than otherwise.

As regards the general import duties, their fate may be said to have been involved in that of the cotton duties; for once the latter source of revenue was abandoned, the retention of the former became indefensible on the ground of their aggregate insignificance.

As long as the import duties were levied impartially, and, while not protective in their effect, produced a revenue commensurate with the cost of collecting them and the inconvenience caused by them to traders, the strongest reason existed for maintaining them in a country where the evils of direct taxation are so serious as in India. But this had ceased to be the case, and the blame or merit of the final result must rest with a previous Administration.

That the result is one to be deplored, most impartial judges will admit.

Even if the import duty on piece-goods had been liable to the objection urged against it by the British manufacturer, there can be no question that the removal of the export duty on rice should have taken precedence of even its partial abolition. Equally little question can there be that the form of partial abolition actually decided on was the worst form that could be chosen, unless, as Lord Lytton boasts, it was chosen for the express purpose of forcing the total abolition on a future administration.

The loss of revenue on account of the Customs duties being calculated at £1,108,000, there still remained about a million and three quarters to be disposed of; and of this money Major Baring has availed himself to reduce the salt duty.

In defence of this mode of employing the money, we are told that the reduction will afford relief to the entire population of the country, including the poorest classes, and that it will strengthen the financial situation. The former contention is, doubtless, literally true; but when we come to enquire into the extent and character of the relief, its practical significance vanishes into thin air. If the duty surrendered were equally distributed over the entire population, it would amount to about one anna and a half per head. But in fact, at least one-third of the entire amount will be appropriated by the Banniah class, so that the

actual relief to the consumer will not exceed one anna per head per annum, a sum obviously too small either to affect the standard of living, or to be capable of productive employment. A million and a half of money so distributed is practically a million and a half cast into the sea. When we reflect what the judicious expenditure of a million and a half per annum might have accomplished in the way of promoting general prosperity, astonishment mingles with our regret at the wantonness of the sacrifice. As to the contention that the reduction will strengthen the financial situation, it depends entirely on the truth of the assumption that the reduction of the duty will lead to a sensible increase in the consumption of salt. But, as far as Bengal is concerned, there is no good reason to expect that this will be the case, for the poorest peasant in Bengal already consumes as much salt as his taste dictates, and he would consume no more if the duty were abolished altogether. In some parts of the country the reduction may possibly lead to an increase of consumption, but, at the best, it will be comparatively trifling.

So far we have compared the advantage likely to result from the reduction of the duty with what might have been expected to attend the reproductive employment of the revenue surrendered. Supposing, however, that the application of the money to the remission of some form of taxation was a foregone conclusion, there can be no question that the license tax should have had the preference, whether regard be had to its excessive unpopularity, or to the relief that would have resulted from its abolition. About the unpopularity of the tax, there is no difference of opinion. On the other hand, it is argued that its abolition would have relieved only a comparatively small number of individuals, belonging to the well-to-do classes of the community, while the reduction of the salt tax benefits the entire population. This argument, however, ignores the fact that there is a limit beyond which the sub-division of a boon deprives it of all value whatsoever, and, that limit once reached, no further multiplication of the number of recipients can be of any advantage. A sum of money which, if spent in the relief of even a single individual, would add so much to the sum of human happiness, adds nothing whatever to that sum when so distributed that the relief to each individual recipient is inappreciable. There is no question that the remission of the license tax would have added very sensibly to the happiness of a large number of human beings, not to speak of the demoralising abuses that would have been put an end to, while it is very doubtful whether the reduction of the salt tax will sensibly add to the happiness of a single individual, though, in the meantime, it is said to have nearly ruined a good many.

It is proposed to spend a sum of £2,765,000 on Productive Public Works and £485,000 on the East Indian Railway during the year; and it is estimated that, if no loan should be taken for this purpose, the cash balances on the 31st March 1883, will stand at £10,848,000. Whether a loan is eventually required, or not, will depend on the state of these balances in the month of November when they are generally reduced to a minimum. The closing balance named above corresponds with a balance of about £7,400,000 at the period in question, and this is less, by about a million sterling, than it is considered prudent to work with. There can be little doubt, however, that the Stock Notes which it is proposed to issue, will add far more than this sum to the balances; and there is consequently very little probability of a loan being required.

These Stock Notes will be issued at par in denominations of Rs. 12½; Rs. 25; Rs. 50; and Rs. 100, bearing interest payable annually, at the rate of 4 per cent, and redeemable on six months' notice, after the expiry of twenty years. They will be procurable at all the district and the principal subordinate treasuries, and will be transferable without endorsement. The Resolution on the subject, published with the Financial Statement, specifies no limit to the amount the Government are prepared to borrow in this form, and some doubt is apparently entertained by them as to the probable success of the scheme. The general opinion of the public, on the other hand, seems to be that the notes will be eagerly sought after, in which case it will be found necessary to fix a limit to the issue.

In the course of the Statement Major Baring took the opportunity to explain the Government policy on a variety of subjects of importance, the opium question and the license-tax among them. As regards the former, while admitting that the connexion of the State with the trade in the drug is not free from serious objection, he clearly demonstrated the imperative necessity of maintaining the present system from a financial point of view, and the baselessness of the belief entertained by the anti-opium agitators that the consumption of the drug would be checked by its abandonment.

As regards the license-tax, while admitting that, in its present form, its incidence is inequitable, the Government has decided to postpone any change on the ground that, in several important particulars, the Indian fiscal system is in a state of transition, and that finality could not therefore be predicated of any change that might be made. The attitude of the Government in the matter is thus summed up. "We recognise the evils of the present tax. We recognise that in its present form it cannot be incorporated into

the permanent financial system of the country. Beyond this we do not at present go. We reserve to ourselves complete liberty of action in the future, either to propose the abolition of the license tax, to recast it, or even, should such a course appear desirable, when the financial arrangements for the year 1883-84 come under consideration, to allow it to continue in existence in its present form for a while longer."

In the course of the debate on the Budget, the Military Member took the opportunity of explaining the arrangement which, on the recommendation of the late Army Commission, the Secretary of State has sanctioned for the re-organisation of the native army. Under this arrangement there will be an immediate reduction of 22 regiments, *viz.*, 4 of cavalry and 18 of infantry. The reduction will fall upon the three armies of India—in the Bengal Army, 3 regiments of Native Cavalry, 6 of Native Infantry; in the Bombay Army 1 Regiment of Native Cavalry, and 4 of Native Infantry; while in the Madras Army there will be no change made in the number of Native Cavalry Regiments, but there will be a reduction of 8 Regiments of Native Infantry. These reductions in the number of Native Regiments will not reduce the aggregate strength of the Native Army. The Cavalry Regiments in Bengal and Bombay will be raised from 457 and 487 respectively, to 550 Natives of all ranks, while the strength of the Madras Cavalry will remain unchanged. The strength of the Infantry Regiments will be raised from 712 to 832 of all ranks. The effect of these changes will be that the total strength of the three Native Armies in India will be increased by 31 men. There will be a small increase in the Bengal and a small decrease in the Bombay Cavalry, that of Madras remaining as at present. While there will be an increase of 1,362 Infantry in Bengal and of 272 in Bombay, there will be a decrease of 1,896 Infantry in the Madras Army. With regard to the European officers, it is not intended that their strength shall be diminished; they will remain, as nearly as possible, on the same strength as now, and this will be done by adding an additional officer to each regiment of Native Cavalry and Infantry in addition to those already maintained. The position of these officers will be that of "squadron" and "wing" officers, and they will receive the same rates of pay and allowances now allowed to those holding similar appointments.

Under the head of foreign politics the only event of any importance that we have to record is the improvement which has apparently taken place in the relations of the Government of India with the Court of Ava. During his late visit to Rangoon a deputation of the leading merchants and other inhabitants of that port waited

on Lord Ripon with a memorial regarding the persistent violation of treaty engagements on the part of the King of Burmah by the establishment of Royal monopolies of all the principal articles of trade. In consequence of this representation, the Government of India decided to make a further and a final effort to bring the King to a sense of his obligations in the matter. Early in the month of January a remonstrance was accordingly forwarded through the Chief Commissioner to the Foreign Minister of the Court of Ava.

The following is the text of the document in question :—

“The Viceory has directed me to address Your Excellency again on the subject of the monopolies granted in sundry articles of trade between British Burma and the dominions of His Majesty the King. In February and again in September I had the honour of representing to Your Excellency that the policy of granting trade monopolies, if persevered in, would do great injury to the commerce between the two countries, and such monopolies were contrary to the treaty of 1867. In reply to these representations in February, Your Excellency informed me nothing had been done calculated to depress trade or inconsistent with the terms of the treaty. Last month, in reply to the remonstrances of September, Your Excellency referred me to your previous answer, saying you had nothing further to add. The Viceroy in Rangoon has enquired carefully into the question of these monopolies, and received a memorial from the Chamber of Commerce and merchants engaged and interested in the Mandalay trade. The Viceory finds that since my letter of September, monopolies have been granted in many other articles, and that the establishment of monopolies has already done much, and probably will do more, harm to the commerce between the two countries. The merchants of Rangoon and other towns of British Burma, whether British, Chinese, Moslem or Burman, represent that if the monopolies continue, trade with Mandalay will come to an absolute standstill, and thus cause serious loss, if not suffering, to the trade of the two countries. The Viceroy directs me to state to Your Excellency as forcibly as I can that it is certainly no longer possible to say the monopoly policy does not injure trade. In the reign of the late King, monopolies were occasionally granted, but upon representations made, they were usually modified. During the first two years of the present King's reign, there were no monopolies, trade was unrestricted, and commerce increased greatly and rapidly. Now the memorials and assurances of the merchants as well as statistics of trade with Upper Burma for the last few months, make it very clear

that commerce has decreased and will, if the monopolies continue, suffer much further injury. The Viceroy believes the Government of His Majesty the King desire to remain on terms of friendship with the British, and desire both countries to be benefited by mutual commerce. Such friendship of intercourse is best maintained by means of communications set on foot by trade. Therefore there is nothing in the relations between the Indian and Upper Burman Governments to which the Viceroy attaches more importance than to unrestricted commerce. On this account he desires that trade between the two countries should flourish, improve, and remain unrestricted. The treaties made with the late King were mainly directed to secure the fulfilment of these desires. If, therefore, the Government of His Majesty the King continue the policy of granting monopolies, the Viceroy will be compelled to regard the Government of Mandalay as indifferent to the maintenance of good relations with the British Government. The Viceroy disclaims any wish to interfere in the internal affairs, fiscal or other, of Upper Burma, and desires to cultivate an increase of the friendship which, in times past, existed between the two countries. But he cannot but look upon the continuance of a commercial policy such as has been adopted at Mandalay during the last few months, as an indication of disregard on the part of the Government of the King of Ava of their duties towards a friendly Government. The Viceroy has caused me to address Your Excellency this strong remonstrance on the subject of the trade monopolies now obtaining in Upper Burma, and he directs me finally to say that if commercial affairs between the two countries continue in their present state, or fall into a worse position in consequence of the continuance of the trade monopolies, the Government of His Majesty the King will be responsible for any diminution of friendship between the two countries which results from such proceedings."

Contrary to general expectation, and owing, probably to causes which yet remain to be explained, this remonstrance has been followed by a marked change in the hitherto impassible attitude of the King, and not only have the monopolies been abolished, but it is stated that he has determined to despatch an envoy to the Government of India.

March 16th, 1882.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India. London: Trübner & Co.

THIS is beyond doubt a grand national work, entitling the projectors, the contributors, and, most of all, the Editor, to the warm thanks of all who are in any degree interested in the Indian Empire. Some drawbacks and imperfections were probably unavoidable in a first undertaking of such magnitude, among which one of the most deplorable is, that the Government of India appears to have made a point of the work appearing in 1881, while the results of the census could not be available till the following year. By this hurry—of the necessity for which we cannot presume to judge—the value of the work may be said to be universally impaired. There can hardly be a single page in which the new census will not enforce correction; while the general analysis and aggregates will be all wrong on points of more or less importance.

The plan and arrangement are as skilful as the execution is luminous and instructive. It would, of course, be impossible to offer a complete review of the whole; nor can any one have had hitherto either the leisure or the ability to make the needful examination. But we have adopted the very natural course of turning to articles on which we were best informed, and we have always found them treated with skill, and usually with accuracy. A few mistakes, in connexion chiefly with philology or transliteration, will be noticed in different portions, some at least of which may be attributable to those oversights from which the most careful printing can seldom be quite free.

The part which most exposes itself to question is probably the article "India" in Vol. IV. Apparently almost identical with that by the same writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* now in course of publication by Messrs. Black of Edinburgh, it seems less appropriate in a quasi authoritative *Gazetteer*, possessing the character of a work issued in pursuance of Governmental orders. Not only does it involve controversies in which the Government is itself a party, but it expresses conclusions to which the Government would perhaps hardly wish to be committed. Some of these conclusions appear to the undersigned very erroneous; and if they be so, it would have been better that

the credit of the ruling power should not appear to be staked upon them. Lastly, the article, while too long to be enjoyed as a literary essay, is not full enough to contain the information required from a work of reference.

One of the most serious instances of the impolicy of engaging the authority of the State, however indirectly, is to be found in the remarks upon what is erroneously called "the land-tax." Broadly speaking, the doctrine of the *Gazetteer* is that, the British tax the country far less heavily than did the Mughal Emperors, which, if the country prospered as is reported under the best of those Emperors, would be a serious imputation upon British administration. It is asserted that the land-revenue, during the last century of the empire, averaged 32 millions (*q. d.* of pounds sterling), and that this was only half of the whole revenue of the Mughal Government (pp. 456—8.) Making allowance for the subsequent discoveries of gold in California and Australia, and the importations of bullion into the Presidency mints, this supposed sum of sixty-four millions sterling would probably equal nearly two hundred millions of modern money, and represent an incidence of about ten rupees a head on the population. The present rate of incidence is probably about a quarter of that rate; so that—supposing (as we seem to have a right to suppose) the country to have borne the Mughal taxation without suffering—the British fiscal system must be one of almost scandalous inefficiency.

This estimate, it is true, omits to notice that over five hundred thousand square miles, with a population of some fifty millions (say, roughly, countries equivalent to the empires of Germany and Austria together) are under home rule, and pay nothing to the Imperial fisc, save some unimportant amount of tribute. But the omission is not material, as it does not exceed that which would have to be made in estimating Mughal resources. The Empire, in its widest extent, can never have derived any revenue worth considering from many enormous tracts of country now taxed by the British. Nor had its rulers the means of raising, as the British do with their opium, nearly, ten millions sterling from foreigners. Rajputana then, as now, was unproductive to the Imperial treasury. Nor did the Empire include such rich and extensive portions of the country, as Assam, British Burma, the Central Provinces (except in name), the Carnatic, or part (generally a small part) of the Deccan.

Happily this most astounding estimate rests on no adequate foundation. In the first place, to speak of what the revenue "averaged during a century," is in itself misleading. What practical information would be derived from a calculation that

the revenue of England during the last century averaged twenty-three millions, when we find from history that the revenue at the beginning of the period was under four, and at the end over thirty-eight millions? In the next place, the estimates for 1655 are—however conflicting—derived from the accounts of a highly organised and united monarchy, while those for 1761 (and for many preceding years) must be derived from conjectures built out of the ill-recorded conditions of a most anarchical chaos. Thirdly, what proof is there of the statement that the land-revenue of the Mughals was only half the whole income of the State? In those days there was no complete system of separate revenue; such items as stamps, excise, opium, and sea customs (none of which is obligatory on any native of India) yielded little or nothing compared with what they bring in now. The poll-tax was suspended during nearly the whole period—say, from 1560 to 1680*—and of the other supposed sources we know of scarcely any, except such fluctuating elements as fines and escheats, which probably went direct into the private chest of the Crown and never formed a part of the national budget.

A modern writer has shown† that the entire revenue—from all sources—was very much as follows:—

Under Akbar—ten to twelve *crores* of rupees. Under Jehángir—from twelve to seventeen and a half. Under Sháh Jahán—about twenty-two. Under Aurangzeb—from twenty-four to thirty-eight, increase due to impositions of poll-tax and conquest of parts of the Deccan.

For the succeeding period, we have no trustworthy sources of information. Neither do we know for a certainty what were the relative values of rupees and sterling during any part of the period covered by Mughal history.

But we learn from an Italian follower‡ of Aurangzeb that the thirty-eight *crores* supposed to have been collected (at one brief epoch of his long reign) by that Emperor, were equivalent to five hundred and eighty millions of French *livres*. Taking the *livre* to have been nearly equivalent to the modern *franc*, this is about twenty-three millions of English sterling: little more than one-third of Mr. Hunter's "average." And this was an exceptional maximum.

Such are the most important blemishes that we have been able to discover on a brief examination of this noble *Gazetteer*, and they may be all corrected easily in the next edition: where the statistics of the recent census will also, no doubt, be adopted.

* It was again taken off about 1720, and paper read before the As. Soc. of Bengal.
and never imposed again.

† Mr. Keene *v. Turks in India*, ‡ S. Manucci.

The origin of the *Gazetteer* is stated in Mr. Hunter's preface, where he also gives a brief sketch of early labours in the same field. It appears that, more than a century ago, the late Court of Directors endeavoured to collect the statistical details of the Eastern Subahs, then recently brought under this control. But for want of due superintendence, this project, and all succeeding attempts of a like nature, failed to come to any thing until the Viceroyship of "Lord Lawrence" Seconded by the Secretary of State, and warmly followed by Lord Mayo, the scheme got into the right hands as to executive control. The provincial governments being at last induced to adopt a uniform plan—subject to none but unavoidable modifications—it became possible to digest the information into a proper scientific and literary work, such as that now before us.

Starting from the "district"—corresponding to the shire or country of the British islands—the original survey gave a description of the 240 districts into which the country is divided for administrative purposes. These materials have in the first place furnished fifteen provincial *Gazetteers*. Those parts that are still under home rule had, however, to be omitted from this survey for political reasons. And, even for "British India," the provincial gazetteers—which, when finished, will form about a hundred bulky volumes, are too ponderous to meet the wants of the general reader. Consequently Mr. Hunter, who never forgets the means of popularising his subject, has condensed the whole of his materials into the handy and workmanlike nine volumes which have formed the subject of this brief notice.

H. G. KEENE.

A Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindu Law. By J. H. Nelson, M. A., London, C. Kegan Paul & Co. Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1881.

MR. NELSON is an uncompromising iconoclast. He would make a clean sweep, at least as regards Southern India, of all existing authority on the subject of Hindû law, whether in the shape of text-books, or of precedents, and re-construct the edifice afresh in the light of the more advanced scholarship of the present day. "It commonly chances," he says in his preface, "that the mind of the untutored English judge in India passes through three successive phases as touching evidence. In his early days he accepts without hesitation almost anything in the shape of evidence that may be set before him. Then comes a revelation. He learns the startling fact that a deal of evidence is not legally admissible, and for year

he rejects, or regards with suspicion, almost everything that is offered. But, sooner or later, he will settle down comfortably in the middle course, accepting and rejecting with discrimination. Much the same sort of thing appears to have been going on in the matter of Hindû law. The earliest inquirers, and with them Jones and Colebrooke, seem to have believed whatever their *Pandits* (experts) chose to tell them. Then, after Colebrooke had left India, came what may be called the acute lawyer stage; strongly marked towards its close by the contemptuous snuffing out of the poor, misunderstood *Pandit*. And quite recently we have come to the third stage, in which wary Sanskritists like Goldstücker and Bühler have taught the student of Hindû law to take texts and *Pandits* (ancient and modern) for what they may be worth, and to seek everywhere for light. And now, with guides like Max Müller, Burnell, Mayr, Weber, Jolly, and others, explorers may hope to do much. In short, the scientific study of the Hindû law at last has become possible."

The Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindû law is mainly an enquiry into the directions which research for this purpose should take; and the following points, among others, are laid down as standing in urgent need of settlement:—

"(1) With respect to the *Dharmas'astras*: when, and in what circumstances, and with what objects, were they first composed? And do the metrical recensions that have come down to us from comparatively recent times contain the substance of what was reduced into writing in the form of the ancient prose *Sûtras*?

"(2) Upon what points, and to what extent, do the existing *Dharmas'astras* differ one from another? The writers of the modern so-called digests failed in their endeavours to bring everything into harmony—would it be possible for others by any method to reconcile the differences in the *Smritis*? Or do the ancient works present different laws administered to different clans?

"(3) What are the precise ideas denoted and connoted by the words *Charana* and *S'akha* respectively? To what extent, if any, was it lawful for *Charana* A to accept and follow the doctrine of *Charana* B? What *Charanas* adhered to the old 'black *Yajur-Veda*,' and what to the new 'white *Yajur-Veda*,' founded by *Yajñavalkya*, of the family of the *Vajasaneyins*? What was the nature of the religious movement which followed upon the foundation of the new *Veda*, and how far was it connected with Buddhism? Was *Yajñavalkya* a Buddhist teacher?

"(4) Who were the *Manavas* whose *Dharmasastra* is known as the *Code of Menu*? Where did they live? When did they become extinct? What sect, if any, now represents them? Were they very numerous, or powerful, or notable, or was there anything special about them that induced other sects to govern themselves by their teaching? And, in particular, did their influence reach down to the South of India?

"(5) What was the origin of the now celebrated *Mitakara* or *Vijñanes'vara*? Where, when, and with what object, or for whose benefit, was it compiled? Is the existing the original text, or a quite modern recension? Who was the author? What are the grounds for the belief that this work was, and is, the 'paramount authority' on inheritance and succession over a considerable

part of India? Does it contain any positive laws or commands, or any collection of actual usages and customs, or is it a mere exposition of speculative opinions of a religious recluse upon subjects with which he could not possibly be conversant? Was the work at any time considered authoritative, in so far as it professes to deal with law, in the countries of South India? And what is the truth about other so-called works of authority in the Madras Province?

"(6) To what extent have Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism, respectively, acted and reacted upon the religious beliefs and practices of the population of South India? What should be understood at the present time by the term *Hindû*? Are the *Vaishnava*, *Saiva*, and other principal sects to be regarded as *Hindû*? What is the true history of the feud between the '*Right-hand*' and the '*Left-hand*'? How far does the antagonism between these two great divisions of society extend—for example, does it preclude the members of one division from accepting and respecting religious, legal, and other works that are accepted and respected by members of the other?

(7) What is meant by, and included in the term *Dravida*? What portions of the population of South India may be supposed to be *Dravida*? What was the origin of the family? What its state of civilisation in early times? How have Brahmanism and *Dravidism* acted and reacted on one another?

"(8) May the population of South India be made by any method of classification to sever into a few principal divisions, or will it be found on inquiry to consist of numberless independent and mutually repellent aggregates? Hitherto the inhabitants of the Western Coast have been assumed to be quite different and distinct from all other castes and tribes. Is the assumption warranted by facts, or do Western Coast practices, such as polyandry and succession in the female line, prevail elsewhere than on the Western Coast? To what extent do important customs, such as the preference of the son-in-law to the natural son as heir, and the custom of the father cohabiting with the son's wife prevail?

"(9) A few collections of usages and customs of so-called *Hindûs* exist and are accessible, as Boulnois and Rattigan's, Steele's, that of the Ceylon Tamils, and perhaps some few others. How far do they resemble and differ from one another? And to what extent, if any, do the rules contained in them appear to be based upon, or sanctioned by, the received *Hindû* law-books, or appear to agree with such notices of local usages and customs as are found in Hindu law-books?

"(10) Brahmans ought to govern themselves by their respective *S'akhas*. Do they? What are their usages and customs? To what extent do the usages and customs of *Ayyangars*,—for example, differ from those of *Ayyars*, *Naus*, and other divisions of Southern Brahmans? In what respects, and to what extent do the usages and customs of the principal non-Brahman castes, *e. g.*, the *Chettis* and *Mudalis*, differ from those of the Brahmans and of one another? What are the most remarkable of the usages and customs of non-Brahman castes, and how far are they consistent or inconsistent with the *Hindû* religion and status?

"(11) To what extent do the Mahomedans of the Madras Province follow the usages and customs of other non-Brahman castes, for example, the custom of living together in undivided families, in a state of coparcenary?

"(12) What was the nature of the authority exercised by *Gurus*, heads of castes, heads of villages, and caste-meetings, respectively, in settling disputes of a civil nature, and punishing crimes and transgressions, before the establishment of the British power? And what portion, if any, of the authority of any of them survives?"

The work of reconstruction would involve the classification of existing Sanskrit law-books ; the determination of which should be considered obligatory on the Brahmans of Southern India generally, or on particular sections of them, and for what purposes, and to what extent ; of what rules (if any) contained in such books can be applied to true Sudras, if such are to be found in South India ; the investigation of the various usages and customs of the non-Brahman tribes and castes, for whom the writer believes it would be essential to legislate separately.

For the purpose of examining and reporting upon the Sanskrit books supposed to contain Hindû law, he would have Government appoint a mixed commission of orientalists, judges, and men of business. Of this commission, he says, "the principal duty should be to collect all the admissible evidence forthcoming to show that such books, all or any of them, have at any time, either consciously or unconsciously, been regarded by the population of South India, or by any part of it, as books containing law, and therefore as authorities obligatory on men's consciences. I have searched in vain for such evidence ; I honestly believe that not a particle of it can anywhere be found. If a properly appointed commission were to report that no such evidence is forthcoming, the monster called 'Hindoo Law' would be quietly slain and buried without delay, and Government would begin the task of collecting and arranging in a simple form the few primitive usages and customs that are common to all or most Indian castes."

With the view of finding out the usages and customs of the Indian castes, he would appoint a committee of the principal officers of each district, with a District judge of experience, to collect, arrange and appraise the information obtained. He would then have Government publish, for the information of its judges, a concise statement of the results arrived at, to be styled the book of "Usages and Customs." After that it might go on "to draw up a set of rules for the guidance of the courts of justice in deciding causes in which the dispute involves questions of marriage, succession, inheritance, and the like. These rules should be of the most general character, and merely provisional. Not a single 'settled principle,' or definition should be found in them. Their main object should be to point out with some precision the right method of using the facts contained in the concise statement above spoken of. It should be declared that where either party challenges an act as being contrary to the custom of his caste and wrong, but it appears from the '*Usages and Customs*' that acts of the kind habitually are done by all or most of the principal castes, and the act appears to the Court to be in itself indifferent, the Court shall, without going into evidence upon the point, decide then and there (for the

purposes of the particular suit) that the act was right and proper. But where the '*Usages and Customs*' was against the act, I would have the rule to be that the Court should take, or not take, evidence as to the custom, according as it did, or did not, think the act not to be in itself indifferent."

He would further have the heads of castes recognized and examined by the courts on points of usage, and he would largely extend the Registration Act.

He thus sums up:—

"In order to carry out the traditional policy of the British Government, and redeem the oft-repeated promise that we will administer to the people their own laws and customs in all matters of marriage, succession, and the like, it is advisable, in my opinion, for Government to do certain things in a certain order, namely:—

1. We must have a relieving and enabling Act passed, so that Indians may understand that they are free agents in ordinary affairs, except in so far as they may voluntarily have given up their liberty for caste or other reasons.

2. A commission must report upon the Sanskrit books supposed (as I think, erroneously supposed) to contain law obligatory on the people of South India.

3. By means of District Committees, or otherwise, Government must find out what in fact are the usages and customs of the Brahman and non-Brahman castes. Particularly, information must be collected in respect to the constitution of the 'house' or family, the nature of Indian rights over things, the position of the Managing Member, and the like.

4. An account of the results so obtained must be published for the guidance of the courts.

5. A set of general practical rules must be framed, to show the courts how to use the account just above referred to, and take evidence about custom.

6. The registration of marriages, adoptions, divisions, and other common acts should be made compulsory.

7. Steps should be taken to revive and improve the institution of the Family Council, and partially to recognise and define the position, rights and duties of the Managing Member.

8. The heads of castes must be officially and judicially recognised.

When these things have been done, and the new system of administering Hindû law has been worked for some years, it will be possible, perhaps very easy, to draw up a Code of Hindû law upon the basis of the '*Usages and Customs*,' as modified and illustrated by select decisions of the District Courts and High Court."

A Manual of Hindu Pantheism. The Vedantasara, translated with copious Annotations. By Major J. A. Jacob, Bombay Staff Corps: Inspector of Army Schools, London: Trübner & Co., 1881.

THE modest title of Major Jacob's work conveys but an inadequate idea of the vast amount of research embodied in his notes to the text of the Vedantasara. So copious, indeed, are these,

and so much collateral matter do they bring to bear on the subject, that the diligent student will rise from their perusal with a fairly adequate view of Hindû philosophy generally. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the author has not confined himself to exposition, and left his readers to form their own opinion of the value of the tenets described. But this is the only fault we have to find with his book, which, in other respects, is one of the best of its kind that we have seen.

The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám. Translated into English Verse. By E. H. Whinfield, M. A., Late of the Bengal Civil Service. London : Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1882.

THE quatrains of Omar Khayyám are interesting not only for their intrinsic merit, whether from a poetical or a philosophical point of view, but as affording a striking illustration of the degree of culture attainable, in so out-of-the-way a place as Khorassan, in the 12th century of our era.

Omar Khayyám was a fellow-student of Nizam ul Mulk, afterwards the celebrated minister of Alp Arslan and Malik Shah, and of Hassan Sabbah, destined to be equally famous in another way. The three companions entered into a compact that whichever should first attain to fortune, would share it with the other two. Nizam ul Mulk, when he became Minister to Alp Arslan, was as good as his word, giving Hassan Sabbah a place at Court, and Omar, who declined to abandon his private station, a handsome stipend.

Hassan showed his gratitude by intriguing against his benefactor, and, failing in his attempt, retired from Court, joined the sect of the Ismailians, and ultimately founded the notorious sect of the Assassins. Omar was, by and bye, summoned by Nizam ul Mulk to Merv and placed in charge of the Royal Observatory there, in which post he superintended the reform of the old Persian Calendar. Besides his quatrains, he has left sundry works on mathematics, including one on Algebra, which has been translated.

There are several editions of the quatrains, varying greatly in their readings. Mr. Whinfield has used three of these for his excellent translation. The most prominent features in the quatrains are their profound agnosticism, combined with a fatalism based more on philosophic than religious grounds, their Epicureanism and the spirit of universal tolerance and charity which animates them.

The following specimens will serve to give an idea of the writer's views and style:—

I.

WE sojourn here for one short day or two,
And all the gain we get is grief and woe,
And then, leaving life's problems all unsolved,
And harassed by regrets, we have to go.

Critical Notices.

X.

From doubt to clear assurance is a breath,
A breath from infidelity to faith ;
Oh ! precious breath, enjoy it while you may,
'Tis all that life can give, and then comes death.

XXV.

Still doth the "veil" man's utmost ken impede,
And all our fond conjecturings mislead :
Our only prospect is earth's quiet breast ;
'Tis given to none the dark beyond to read.

XL.

O soul, so soon to leave this coil below,
And pass the dread mysterious curtain through,
Be of good cheer, and joy you while you may,
You wot not whence you come, nor whither go.

XLII.

If men rebel, what of omnipotence ?
And if they wander, what of providence ?
If heaven be earned by works, as wages due,
What room for mercy and benevolence ?

XLVI.

When Allah mixed my clay, he knew full well
My future acts, and could each one foretell ;
'Twas he who did my sins predestinate,
Yet thinks it just to punish me in hell.

LII.

The potter did himself these vessels frame,
What makes him cast them out to scorn and shame ?
If he has made them well, why should he break them ?
And though he marred them, they are not to blame.

LXXXVII.

These fools, by dint of ignorance most crass,
Think they in wisdom all mankind surpass ;
And glibly do they damn as infidel
Whoever is not, like themselves, an ass.

CXXXV.

The world, is baffled in its search for Thee,
Wealth cannot find Thee, no, nor poverty ;
Thou'rt very near us, but our ears are stopped,
Our eyes are blinded that we may not see.

VI.

Whate'er thou doest, never grieve thy brother,
Nor raise a fume of wrath his peace to smother.
Dost thou desire to taste eternal bliss ?
Vex thine own heart, but never vex another.

VII.

At first ensnare all hearts with kindly art,
Then let thine heart seek its pure counterpart,
A hundred Kaabas equal not one heart ;
Seek not the Kaaba, rather seek a heart.

XIX.

Pagodas are, like mosques, true homes of prayer ;
'Tis prayer that church bells waft upon the air ;
Kaaba and temple, rosary and cross,
All are but divers tongues of world-wide prayer.

XXXII.

Hearts with the light of love illumined well,
Whether in mosque or synagogue they dwell,
Have their names written in the book of love,
Unvexed by hopes of heaven or fears of hell.

LI.

To friends and eke to foes true kindness show :
No kindly heart unkindly deeds will do,
Harshness will alienate a bosom friend,
And kindness reconcile a deadly foe.

II.

Since no one can assure thee of the morrow,
Rejoice thy heart to-day, and banish sorrow
With sparkling wine, fair moon, for heaven's moon
Will look for us in vain on many a morrow.

LV.

Drink wine, and then as Mahmud thou wilt reign,
And list to music passing David's strain ;
Think not of past or future, seize to-day,
Then one to-day will not be lived in vain.

LVI.

Drink wine, of human travail sweetest meed,
Fruitage of youth and balm of aged need ;
With boon companions, and with wine and rose,
Rejoice thy spirit—that is life indeed.

LXI.

They preach how sweet those Houri brides will be,
But, look you, so is wine sweet, taste and see.
Hold fast this cash, and let the credit be,
And shun the din of empty drums with me.

LXXIII.

When life is spent, who recks of joy or pain ?
Or cares in Naishapur and Balkh to reign ?
Come, quaff your wine, for after we are gone,
Moons will still wane and wax, and wax and wane.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bhārat Kosh. Compiled by Rāj Krishna Rāya eban Sarách Chandra Deb. Parts I, II, & III. Printed and published by Sarách Chandra Deb at the Biná Press, 37, Mechuábazar Street, Calcutta.

THIS is the first dictionary of its kind in Bengali, compiled with the view of furnishing information regarding Vaidik, Pauranik and Tantric theology, the literature, music, arts, sciences, philosophy, *Dharma Sastras*, geography, the mythical and historical personages, &c., of ancient India. The importance of a work of this kind cannot be over-estimated. Ancient Sanskrit literature is so vast, and the difficulty of exploring it is so great, that a publication of this sort cannot fail to be recognised as a literary enterprise of a very praiseworthy kind. We hope, however, that Babu Rāj Krishna Rāya and his colleague will collect information more from the original sources than from second-hand authorities like the writings of Indian and European Sanskritists. The late Raja Radha Kant Deb compiled his *Sabda Kalpa Druma* directly from Sanskrit sources; and that plan ought to be followed by the compilers of the dictionary under notice. The value of this dictionary, it may be also suggested, would be greatly enhanced by making the references a little more minute and explicit. Babu Rāj Krishna Rāya has commenced a good work, which, we hope, he will be enabled by persevering industry on his own part, and by liberal patronage on the part of the public, to bring to a successful completion.

Rāmāyan. Translated into Bengali verse, by Rāj Krishna Rāya with Notes. Printed at the Albert Press, Calcutta.

THE *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat*—the two great Sanskrit epics—have exercised a marvellous influence on the Hindu mind. As religious epics, they may be said to form the Bible of India. For many centuries, they have been, for the Indian people, the only source of mental culture. The moral and religious conceptions of the Hindus have been profoundly moulded by them. They form, for the people of this country, the most authoritative code of domestic, social and religious law. They have been, from time immemorial, read and listened to by all classes of Hindus in prosperity and in adversity, in happiness and in misery, in joy and in sorrow, for pleasure, for instruction, for religious advancement, for the regulation of practical life, for comfort, and for consolation. It is doubtful whether

any other work of human genius has been anywhere used for so many purposes, or has performed a more comprehensive function, in the economy of human life. But the *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat* have been read only by a few members of the Brahminical class in the great Sanskrit originals. The great mass of the people have only heard them interpreted by *Kathaks*, or read them in the meagre and mutilated versions of *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās*. The class of professional reciters of the Purans called *Kathaks*, of whom many yet exist and exercise what is still a very useful and lucrative craft, are always compelled to adapt their interpretations of original Sanskrit literature to the tastes and requirements of mixed and popular audiences; whilst writers like *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās*, who derive their information from the *Kathaks*, are necessarily third-hand authorities, who may be very good in their own way, but whom it would be a grave mistake to regard as faithful interpreters of the great Sanskrit originals. *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās* have had, it is true, their time and their triumph, and seem destined to hold their ground for many more years. The village shopkeeper, it is clear, will not be in a position to dismiss them very soon. But the history of Bengali literature for the last 25 years or so, is the history of a progress in culture and improvement in literary taste which cannot be satisfied with such commodities as *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās*. The rapidity with which several prose versions of the two great epics have been within recent years bought up by Bengali readers is a remarkable fact, which may be regarded as implying the existence of a condition of things in which not garbled but faithful versions of good Sanskrit works are urgently needed. Already this want has been supplied in a really magnificent style by such men as Pandit Hem Chandra Bhattāchārjya and the late Babu Kāli Prasanna Sinha. These men have, however, given us only prose translations of the *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat*. But easy metrical translations of such poems must possess a peculiar interest, and may be rightly expected to suit intellectual capacities of a more varied kind than those which would appreciate scholarly prose. It is for this reason that we hail the appearance of the work under notice as a valuable contribution to the national literature of Bengal. It contains an easy translation into Bengali verse of the first three books of the *Rāmāyan*. The metre employed by the translator is of the kind which is most popular among Bengali readers of *all* classes, and includes only a few of those foreign imitations which have become disgustingly common in modern Bengali literature, but which possess little or no recommendation besides

their *foreign* appearance. We give below a specimen of the author's metre and style :—

অনন্তর রামচন্দ্র সুধীর লক্ষণে
কহিতে লাগিলা ধীরে মধুর বচনে :
প্রাণের লক্ষণ ! তুমি ধর্মপরায়ণ,
সৎ পথাবলম্বী আর শান্তি নিকেতন ।
সর্বদা তোমারে আমি জীবনের চেয়ে
প্রিয়জ্ঞান ক'রে থাকি সন্তুষ্ট হৃদয়ে
তুমি মম বশ্য অতি, জীবনের সখা,
তব সম হিতকারী নাহি যায় দেখা
ভুগিও যদ্যপি, ভাই ! আজি মম সনে,
ভ্যজিয়া অযোধ্যাপুরী যাও ঘোর বনে,
তা' হ'লে কৌশল্যা আর শ্রমিত্রা জননৈ
কাঁদিবেন মহাশোক দিবস রজনী

It is clear that language, such as this cannot fail to be understood by those who have received little or no education, and that, considered in a literary point of view, Babu Raj Krishna's work is calculated to be a successful rival of Krittibás's popular version. For the learned, this work possesses great interest, inasmuch as it is full of notes embodying the results of varied reading and diligent research. Valmiki's great poem, it should be also noted, is full of chaste and genial poetry, and is besides instinct with a spirit of universal charity combined with a spirit of moral rectitude which, while it charms the soul by its exquisite sweetness and simple earnestness, cannot fail to exercise a deeply soothing and elevating influence on the reader's mind. Krittibás's *Rámáyana*, with all its excellences, falls far short of the great original in this respect. And it may be therefore expected of a faithful version like the one under notice that it will be a powerful instrument of *popular culture* in this country, and prove an invaluable auxiliary to the schemes of mass education which are now, it is believed, under the consideration of the Government of Lord Ripon. Babu Ráj Krishna Ráya is doing a truly national work, and the nation expects that he will complete it in the spirit of devotion in which he has begun it.

Banga Mahilá. By Jogendra Náráyan Ráya. Printed and published by Nandalál Basu at the Sádharani Press, Chinsurah. 1881.

ONE of the most noticeable features of the great moral and intellectual revival which has taken place in this country

under the influence of English education and English example, is to be found in the increased and active interest which educated Hindus are now seen to take in the condition of their women. Girls' schools, periodicals like the *Bāmābodhini Patrikā*, and schemes for female emancipation are facts which possess a deep significance. They mean that the action of a foreign government has been productive of social influences of a more powerful and organic character than what political philosophers are generally found willing to ascribe to such action. Educated Hindus think and feel that the condition of their women is not what it should be, and that the existing relations of the sexes in this country stand in need of very important modifications. This means that English education has opened the eyes of its recipients to the necessity of altering the most essential of all human arrangements, the foundation for all other arrangements, the arrangement of the home. It is doubtful, therefore, whether a foreign influence, which is in this case synonymous in an essential degree with the influence of a foreign government, has anywhere produced so deep a result as it has done in this country. Of the extent to which Native opinion regarding the condition of Hindu women has been influenced by English education and English example, some idea may be formed from the work under notice. The education of Bengali women, the sort of books which they should read, the manner in which they should spend their time, their dress, their widowhood, their moral influence over their husbands, their domestic duties, their management of children, their religion, these and certain other topics have been discussed by Babu Jogendra Nārāyan Rāya. Unanimity of opinion on so many questions bearing upon the fundamental problem of woman's culture and position in the family is almost impossible; and we therefore feel no hesitation in declaring our dissent from the author on several important points. But in spite of differences of opinion, we cannot help expressing our hearty approval of the spirit of sympathy with the sex in this country in which the work has been throughout written. The author is really a friend and well-wisher of Bengali women, and we may also add, that he entertains for them very high esteem and respect. He desires that their condition should be materially improved, but he seems evidently to belong to that class among educated Natives who deprecate violent change. He has given advice to both the men and women of Bengal on a large variety of points, and although opinion may vary as to its soundness in all instances, it may be freely admitted that it is nowhere characterised by extravagance or a spirit of Utopian enthusiasm. *Banga Mahilā* is, indeed, one of the best books of its kind we have come across

for some time, and it forms, we are glad to say, a really useful and valuable contribution to Bengali literature. Its style is easy and its diction smart and impressive. But the author's manner is not always unexceptionable. In speaking of the treatment of unhappy Hindu widows by the married women of Bengal, the author thus delivers himself :—

আর তোমাকে ও বলি বঙ্গীর সধবা রমণি ! তুমি লেখাপড়া শিক্ষা করিয়া ও জাতিয় স্বভাব পরিত্যাগ করিবে না ? তোমার বিধবা ননদিনী যদি এক খানি রান্নাপেড়ে সাড়ী পরিধান করেন, তবে তোমার প্রাণে তাহা সহ্য হয় না কেন ? বিধে-ভরা বক্র হাসি বাহির হয় কেন ?

We feel no hesitation in saying that the সধবা রমণী (married woman) of Bengal, when she reads these lines, will be irresistibly moved to laugh a thoroughly girl-like laughter without heeding the point of the rebuke which is intended to be conveyed to her. In this, and in many other instances like this, the author's manner should have been awfully grave and severely judicial. But in spite of these defects, we feel real pleasure in recommending Babu Jogendra Nárâyana's work for earnest perusal by both the men and the women of Bengal.

Bhrántibinod. By Káli Prasanna Ghosh. Printed and published by Munshi Maula Buksh at the Dacca Girish Press. 1881.

BABU Káli Prasanna Ghosh is a distinguished name in modern Bengali literature. As the editor of the *Bándhab*, a first-class Bengali periodical, Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh is the leader of a large group of Bengali scholars hailing from all parts of the country ; and he is therefore a representative member of the literary community of Bengal. He has occupied this proud position for several years, and, considering his earnest devotion to the cause of his country's literature, it may be confidently asserted that he will maintain and adorn it for many a long year to come. He is a literary veteran whom every body respects, and who knows how to make himself respected by all. His last work, *Bhrántibinod*, is in every respect worthy of him and of his representative position. He has in this work exposed the many vices, follies, weaknesses, crudities, shortcomings, harmful conventionalities, and tyrannies of modern civilisation and of the modern man. The style in which he has done this is, to our thinking, better than that in which subjects of this kind are ordinarily treated. The sarcastic style is a powerful literary weapon, and there are cases in which it may

be very effectively employed. But it is in most cases a style which is offensive to those for whose benefit it is adopted. Its use is generally attributed to pride, overweening self-confidence, and want of genuine sympathy with others. Men who are actuated, or who are believed to be actuated by such impulses, can never make themselves agreeable to those for whom they write, and are invariably listened to with scant respect, if not in a positively contemptuous spirit. Sarcasm, in fact, may possess a purely literary interest; but for purposes of instruction, it is worse than useless. It often confirms men in the foolish and vicious courses against which it is directed. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh has therefore rightly avoided the sarcastic style, except in a few cases in which it is impossible for a cultivated man to feel anything but contempt. His style is a thoroughly earnest style, with, in many places, an under-current of humour to give it point. The three most noticeable features in the writings before us are an ardent love of independence, a stern hatred of moral sham and impurity, and an ardent tone of unselfishness and universal benevolence. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh's love of moral purity and sincerity is, indeed, so fervent as to lead him, in some cases, to perpetrate exaggerations of the nature of mistakes. We will give one instance. In his paper on "Current and obsolete lies," Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh severely condemns the graceful and agreeable conventionalism in accordance with which a man, whether feeling well or ill, happy or unhappy, invariably answers a "How do you do?" with an "All right, thank you." We do not know whether it would not be more casuistical than anything else to question the propriety of a social conventionalism of this sort. But we are quite sure that the "All right, thank you," under all circumstances, is not a LIE, and is nowhere meant or understood to be such. But extreme views of this sort are in the case of Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh owing to an ardent love of moral purity and sincerity; and if they are considered to be faults, they are at any rate faults on virtue's side. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh has displayed a vast amount of learning in the papers collected in this volume, and that learning, as well as the deep earnestness of his soul, has been reflected in a style of expression which may be described as being characteristically his own for eloquence and literary workmanship.

Ami Ramani-Kábya. Printed by Rájendra Náth Sen, and published by Bhuban Chandra Mukhopádhyaýa at the Sudhâbarsan Press, Calcutta, 1288. B. S.

A BENGALI lady describes in this volume the severe persecution she has suffered at the hands of a jealous and wicked

co-wife, the ruin in which her husband's family has been involved in consequence of her co-wife's selfish extravagance, and the difficulty with which, after her husband's death, she is supporting his miserable family including her co-wife and her children. The only good thing that we can say regarding this poetical narrative is this. It gives a very graphic picture of a Hindu household lorded over by a jealous co-wife and ruined by her influence. As for the authoress herself, we think that it would have been better if she had not published the story of her sufferings. Silent suffering is a higher and purer example for man than suffering which is made known to the world as if (and the hypothesis naturally suggests itself) with some secret intention of claiming praise or merit for the sufferer. The lady, indeed, raises a practical question at the end of her book; and that is, how should helpless women of the more respectable classes among Hindus, who can neither practise a profession nor go about publicly begging from door to door, maintain themselves? We admit that this question is growing in importance, as the old Hindu domestic system is giving way before the individualising influence of Western culture. But a narrative of personal suffering, like the one under notice, is not, we are decidedly of opinion, exactly the place where such a question should be raised. Society is aware of this problem, and society *must* solve it when it becomes really pressing in its character.

Nitimanjari. By Surya Kumār Adhikāri, B. A. Printed at the Sanskrit Press, and published at the Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, 1881.

THIS is a little school-book consisting of easy poems very well calculated to work upon the moral nature of children. We have great pleasure in recommending it for use in the schools for boys and girls in this country.

Vālmikīr Jaya. The Three Forces, (Physical, Intellectual and Moral). By Hara Prasād Sāstri, M. A. Printed by Bipinbihārī Rāya, at the Rāya Press, 17, Bhabāni Charan Datta's Lane, and published at the Rāya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta: 1288 B. S.

IN a recent number of this *Review* we had the pleasure to introduce Mr. Sāstri to our readers as the author of an exceedingly useful and interesting work entitled *Bhārat Mahilā*. Mr Sāstri's new work, *Vālmikīr Jaya*, is one of an entirely different

description. *Bhārat Mahilā* is of the nature of a digest, or compilation, prepared with considerable erudition and critical acumen. *Vālmikīr Jaya* is of the nature of a poem, and, as such, it furnishes a clearer and more conclusive test of the author's mental powers than *Bhārat Mahilā*. One autumn evening, just at the point of time when the *Satya Yuga* was passing away and the *Tretā Yuga* was coming in, the skies presented a wonderful spectacle. Breaking through the vast milky expanse over head and illumining by their heavenly brightness the infinite space around, there descended on the high summits of the Himalayas a countless host of *Ribhus*, or spirits of departed ancestors, who sang a song of universal brotherhood, which entranced the Universe, but which only three men understood. These three were Basistha, Biswamitra and Valmiki, who felt profoundly stirred by the spirit of the song, and resolved to establish universal brotherhood among men. Basistha proposed to do this by his intellectual power over the different castes into which Hindu society was divided; Biswamitra by establishing a military sovereignty over the whole race of man. In a conflict which soon broke out between these two men, Biswamitra's military power gave way before Basistha's spiritual or intellectual power; whereupon Biswamitra resolved to usurp the superior spiritual power of the Brahmin. With this object in view, he entered upon a course of spiritual meditation, combined with physical austerities, which enabled him in the end to defy even Brahmā, and to create by spiritual force an entirely new world, with a new solar system, in which order and harmony reigned supreme. But Biswamitra himself felt solitary and miserable in his newly created world; and so he resolved to take up and place therein the great city of Kanouj, the capital of his terrestrial empire, wherein lived all his friends and relatives. But the attempt proved unsuccessful, because the spiritual power acquired by him had been fully spent in the creation of the new world. His new world was therefore resolved back into its original nebulae, and he himself, deprived of his spiritual power and half stupified with grief, fell whirling down upon a grand ceremonial altar, where Basistha was about to perform a great sacrifice, and around which were ranged two hostile parties, representing respectively the sacerdotal and warrior classes, armed to the teeth, and ready to close in deadly conflict, but exhorted all the while by the humane Valmiki and his humanised fraternity to forget all class interests, and to love each other as brothers. The song prevailed; all hearts were melted; Basistha and Biswamitra embraced each other and Valmiki; a strong wave of brotherly feeling swayed the vast multitude; the gods, who had assembled there, blessed

every body and went back to their abodes well pleased at the fraternal union effected by Valmiki's song of universal brotherhood.

Such is, in a few words, the plot of this poem. It is written in prose, but it is not on that account the less a poem. Its object, as may be seen from the brief summary given above, is to prove that social order cannot be created and maintained by mere physical force, nor even by intellectual force, and that moral force is alone competent to do this. We are not quite sure whether this is a complete solution of the question of social organisation; but this we can say, that Mr. Sāstri's method of solution, so far as it goes, is not correct. If his *Biswamitra* and *Basistha* are respectively intended to represent physical force and intellectual force, they are both failures. *Biswamitra* creates his typical world, not by means of physical power, but by spiritual power, and thus we find no experiment of a harmonious social organisation effected by the exercise of mere physical power. If *Biswamitra* had established a vast military empire, like that of the Romans in the ancient world, or like that of Napoleon Bonaparte in the modern, and if that empire had been found crumbling to pieces through the action of the dissolving forces which are inherent in purely military organisations, we should have had in him a true representative of the idea which he is intended to personify. But he does not do that, and the experiment of a harmonious social organisation effected by physical power remains, therefore, unperformed. *Basistha*, again, does not represent intellectual power, but priestcraft or sacerdotal cunning; and, as regards social organisation, we do not even find him making an attempt in that direction. We do not know of any instances in history of attempts made by individuals or communities to construct society upon a purely intellectual basis. But a man of strong imaginative power, like Mr. Sāstri, could have easily gathered materials for an intellectual experiment from such facts as the Puritanic regime in England (which laid an interdict upon the fine arts and the sports and amusements of the people), the scholasticism of the middle ages, and the merciless intellectualism of the Convention. But though defective and even incorrect in procedure, Mr. Sāstri is really grand in his execution. His sentiments are pure and elevated, his scenes are full of the greatest loftiness of the earth and the skies, his style is cast in the high heroic mould, his imagination soars above the greatest heights of the earth and heavens. His *Biswamitra*, apparently his most favorite creation, is a grand colossal figure, a wonderful monument of imaginative power in modern Bengali literature. Mr. Sāstri is really a poet, and an ornament of his country's literature.

Continuing the thread of his narrative, Mr. Sāstri gives in his

concluding chapter a brief view of the moral plan of Valmiki's *Ramayana*. The poet is represented as giving the following account of what he intends doing in his great epic.

“আমি রামকে ধার্মিক ও করিবনা; বীর ও কারিবনা; রাজনীতিজ্ঞ ও করিবনা। স্বয়ং নারায়ণ অবনীতে অবতীর্ণ হইতেছেন; তিনি আদর্শ মনুষ্য হইবেন। তাঁহার চরিত্র বর্ণনাক্রমে আমি আদর্শ মনুষ্য, আদর্শ রমণী, আদর্শ দম্পতী, আদর্শ ভ্রাতা, আদর্শ পরিবার, আদর্শ বন্ধু, আদর্শ রাজা ও আদর্শ শাসন প্রণালী, আদর্শ ভৃত্য ও আদর্শ শত্রু দেখাইব। আপনারা অশীর্বাদ করিলে আমি এই সুযোগে এমন একটী মনুষ্য চরিত্র চিত্রিত করিব, যদ্বর্জনে সর্বদেশীয় সর্বজাতীয় ও সর্বকালীন মানবগণ আনন্দ ও উপদেশ লাভ করিতে পারিবেন।

The reader will find in this a happy coincidence with the view which we have ourselves taken of the *Ramayana* in our notice of Babu Rajkrishna Raya's Bengali metrical version of that poem in the last number of this *Review*.

Rudrachanda (Nótiká). By Rabindra Náth Tagore. Printed and published by Kálikinkar Chakrabarti, at the Valmiki Press : Calcutta, Sakabda, 1803.

THIS is a small tragedy consisting of fourteen scenes. Rudra Chanda is an exiled-enemy of King Prithviráj of Delhi. Since his banishment he has lived with his only daughter Amiyá in a secluded forest-region near the Himalayas. In this retreat, Amiyá is visited by a courtier of Prithviráj named Chánd Kabi, who loves the little girl as a brother. Rudra Chanda strongly resents Chaud Kabi's visits to Amiyá, but Amiyá cannot resist the impulse of her heart towards Chánd Kabi, whose visits therefore continue. Her situation, accordingly, becomes exceedingly dangerous and distressful. At this time Mahammad Ghorí invades India, and Prithviráj falls in a battle with the invader. Rudra Chanda comes to the battle-field to kill Prithviráj with his own hand, but, finding him already fallen, stabs himself in a fit of frustrated revengefulness. Amiyá, who has wandered about in search of Chánd Kabi, dies disappointed and overpowered by the terrible events which take place before her eyes.

The two most interesting characters in this story are Rudra Chanda and Amiyá. Of these two Rudra Chanda seems to us most successfully drawn. He is a strong and stalwart man,

stern-hearted, fierce, revengeful. His conduct towards Amiyá and his behaviour on the battle-field strike us as terribly fierce and vindictive. He looks savage, but he is also a soldier, for he scorns Mahammad Ghorí's stealthy overtures for the assistance of his sword. And it is because we know that he is a true soldier that his savage vindictiveness fails to make the shocking impression on our minds which it would otherwise have done. Knowing him to be incapable of anything like absolute meanness, we only find in his fierce vindictiveness an eminently realistic representation of the half savage, half noble soldier so well known to readers of Asiatic history and feudal Europe. Of Amiyá, we are sorry to say, we cannot speak so highly. We fancy she is cast in Miranda's mould; but between her and Miranda there is really a world of differences. Miranda is a piece of reality; Amiyá is a dream—a mere sentiment. Says the latter:—

“বড় সাধ যায় এই নক্সা মালিনী
 শুদ্ধ বামিনীর সাথে মিশে যাই যদি!
 মৃদু ল সমীর এই, চাঁদের জোছনা,
 নিশার ঘুমন্ত শান্তি এর সাথে যদি
 অমিয়ার এ জীবন যায় মিলাইয়া!”

This is dreaminess. But dreams melt away before the real living world; and dreams have no external projection. Does Amiyá fulfil these conditions? No; for she should in that case be incapable of action, and therefore unfit to be introduced into a drama. Amiyá obstinately contests her father's will—she braves his wrath. This is external projection, wholly inconsistent with the dreaminess presented to us in the foregoing lines. A really dreamy character would simply vanish before so much external fierceness, before such severe objectivity. Amiyá is a psychological failure.

We doubt, again, whether the author is right in attributing to Amiyá any thing like an obstinate opposition to her father's will. The author probably means, by adopting this course, to set forth by contrast the overpowering strength of her love for Chánd Kabi. All true poets have certainly represented love as a violent impulse; but no true poet, intending to describe love as a right feeling, has compromised any other right feeling or principle for its sake. The filial feeling is as sacred as the feeling of brotherly or conjugal love, and in a rightly framed mind neither of them conflicts with the other. Miranda is, indeed, carried away by her unschooled and untutored disposition to engage herself to Ferdinand without the knowledge, and apparently

against the wish of her father. But every reader of the *Tempest* will admit that, if Prospero had really assumed an attitude of stern or obstinate opposition, Miranda, of all women, would have been the first to turn away from Ferdinand, and the last to oppose, or act secretly against, her father's will. The spectacle of a child acting against her father's wish in the matter of love-making is a thoroughly demoralising one, and particularly mischievous in the present circumstances of Hindu society. And it is for this reason that we sincerely deplore the appearance of the school of Bengali erotic poetry of which Babu Rabindra Náth Tagore seems to be a leading representative. His *Amiyá*, indeed, appears simple enough not to understand why her innocent love for Chánd Kabi should be regarded with violent aversion by her father. But, without insisting on the principle that in a case of self *versus* parental authority, unquestioning obedience to her father is the child's first and foremost duty, we should state with reference to *Amiyá* that what is intended by the poet to enhance our sympathy with her is not so much simplicity as stupidity, or mental imbecility, a sort of *Nekámi*, to use an expressive Bengali word, which we do not like to associate with our idea of a really lovely female mind. We are sorry to observe, however, that the school of Bengali erotic poetry, referred to above, is principally characterised by, amongst other things, this practice of attributing this singularly unhappy mental trait to not only the heroines, but the heroes as well, of love stories.

Babu Rabindra Nath's is a really original and poetically constituted mind. He sees the delicate aspects of external nature in a manner in which no other Bengali poet has hitherto done. He enters and feels transformed into the soul of much that is lovely and beautiful in the world around. His *Rudra Chanda* shows that he has also a soul for the sterner things of the earth. Let him, therefore, guide his course with a little more thought, and we have no doubt he will take his place in the front rank of Bengali poets. We doubt whether he is not already very near the place which should be his, and only his.

Yurop-prabásir Patra. By Rabindra Náth Tagore. Printed by Káli Kinkar Chakrabarti at the Valmiki Press, and published by Sáradá Prasád Gangopádhya, Calcutta: Sakabdá, 1803.

THIS is another work by Babu Rabindra Náth Tagore. It consists of 14 letters written by him from England to friends in India. Besides a description of his voyage, these letters contain accounts of many things that Babu Rabindra Náth saw in Europe,

and especially in England. The reader must not expect to find in these pages such matter as would be found in a book of travels written by a statesman, a political thinker, a student of sociology, or a naturalist. He will only find here a record of "those impressions" which, to use the author's own words, "the first sight of a foreign social system produced upon the mind," we should add, of a youthful Bengali traveller. The author also says that his reader will learn from his book how the opinions of a Bengali who goes to England are "formed and changed."

It is clear that, if the book did not enable us to learn any thing else, it would be worth our while to read it only in order to learn this last. We find that Mr. Tagore's views of things and manners underwent considerable change in the course of his residence in England, and that his later letters betray a very different style of thought from his earlier ones. The change was probably owing to increased knowledge of English social and domestic life, probably also to the accommodating influence of prolonged residence, and possibly, in some measure, to an accidentally fortunate combination of circumstances. Whatever the cause, Mr. Tagore, towards the close of his English visit, became a great admirer of English social and domestic life; and in his later letters, published for the first time in a first-class Bengali periodical called the *Bharāti*, he accordingly expressed certain views, in condemnation of certain Indian institutions, which were severely attacked by the orthodox editor of that journal. We have no doubt that there is much that is really very good in English life compared with Indian life; but we are sorry to say that a thoughtful reader of these pages will feel compelled to reject a good deal of the evidence placed before him in behalf of several English social institutions and usages. That will not certainly mean that those institutions and usages are bad. That will only mean that Mr. Tagore has not been able to explain them properly. Of the unfavorable view which Mr. Tagore has taken of certain Indian institutions compared with corresponding English institutions, we are bound to say that it is a view of a singularly one-sided nature, and of a kind which usually characterises impulsive youth. We will give one instance: Mr. Tagore says that English dinner parties, with the opportunities they offer of exchanging good feelings and taking part in intellectual conversation, are something infinitely better than the monster dinner parties of his own country, in which hundreds of men assemble only to create a deafening hubbub. But we would ask Mr. Tagore, are all dinner parties bad where good feelings are not exchanged, and the guests do not

discuss history and poetry? Dinner parties in India have their regulating principle as much as dinner parties in England. The monster dinner parties in this country are the result of the caste-system and the system of living in large village communities. They serve to strengthen the systems out of which they arise as a matter of course; and viewed in this light, they must be admitted by every thoughtful man to perform a more useful, important, and organic function in the social system than ordinary dinner parties in England. Indeed, Indian dinner parties bear to the conditions of Indian social life the same relation that political banquets bear to political life in England.

Mr. Tagore's book is full of graphic sketches. He writes with considerable humour, both genial and caustic. The scenes he has described are life-like. His book has greatly raised him in our opinion. He is really a man of versatile powers.

One word about his style. He may be right in thinking that letters to friends should be written in the homely and colloquial style in which we ordinarily talk with them. But he should have remembered that that is a style which we can only use at home and during leisure hours, when we can afford to be a little talkative and prodigal in the use of words. But study is a serious *business* in which loss of time means serious waste; and it would have been well if Mr. Tagore, before giving these letters to the public, had slightly altered their style with a view to condensation.

Bāmátoshini. By Pyári Chánd Mitra. Printed and published by Iswar Chandra Basu & Co., at the Stanhope Press, Calcutta, 1882.

THE following extract from the author's English preface will explain the object with which this book is written:—

"It is very necessary that Hindu girls should acquire a correct knowledge of their duties as daughters, wives, and mothers, and above all, their duty to God, the love for whom should be instilled from childhood. They should also possess correct ideas on sanitation, and know how to bring up children properly. I have therefore written the present work, which is purely a moral tale, leaving out all particular religious ideas, and showing the value of sanitation and the proper way of bringing up children, which cannot be taught unless the girls receive a sound moral education."

The author has certainly succeeded in carrying out his programme; and in so far his book may be safely recommended for use in girl's schools and in zenana teaching in this country.

But before it is adopted for this purpose, we should like to see its style, which is in several places extremely un-Bengali, improved, and the many grammatical defects and solecisms, contained in it, corrected.

Aitihasik Sandarbha. Compiled by Srinath Chand. Printed by Pandit Nabin Chandra Chakrabarti at the Bharat Mihir Press, Mymensingh, 1881.

THE Compiler says in his preface :—

বঙ্গীয় বিদ্যালয়ের উচ্চ শ্রেণীতে যে সকল সাহিত্য গ্রন্থ অধ্যত হয়, তাহার অধিকাংশই পৌরাণিক উপাখ্যানাদি হইতে সংগৃহীত সাহিত্যরূপে প্রকৃত ইতিহাস পাঠে যে মহৎ ফললাভ হয়, বঙ্গবিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্রগণ তদ্যাপি তাহাতে বঞ্চিত রহিয়াছে। বঙ্গসাহিত্যের এই অভাব কিয়ৎ পরিমাণে দূর হইবে মনে করিয়াই আমি এই অভিনব প্রণালী অবলম্বনে সাহসা হইয়াছি।

This means that much of the literature now read in Bengali schools consists of Pauranik stories. The advantage that may be derived from the study of authentic history is therefore lost to Bengali boys. To supply this serious want Babu Srinath Chand has adopted this অভিনব প্রণালী (novel plan) of presenting selections from Bengali works of fiction to Bengali schoolboys as historical essays, or, as he himself would have it, as "readings from Indian History!" This is Babu Srinath Chand's reply to Green's Readings from English History! And অভিনব প্রণালী indeed! The get-up of the book, however, does credit to the Mymensingh Press.

Gáthá. By the authoress of *Dipnirwan*. Printed and published by Kalikinkar Chakrabarti, at the Valmiki Press, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

TO readers of this *Review*, the writer of this work is already favorably known as the authoress of a good Bengali novel, entitled *Dipnirwán*, and of a good Bengali opera entitled *Basanta Utsab*.

The work before us consists of four small love stories in verse. The stories, we must say, are all happily conceived, indicating a refined and cultivated taste, a poetical frame of mind, and a sweet, tender, and sometimes even vigorous, fancy. The stories are told in a half lyrical, half narrative style, of which

the fair writer seems to be a perfect master. Her versification is sweet, smooth, musical and eloquent. She appeals strongly to her reader's feelings, and, though her poetry is open in some degree to the strictures we have passed upon that of Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, it is nevertheless of a kind which we cannot afford to lose. She describes the minds of lovers with great skill, and she has also a fine pencil for external objects. The following picture of an old Hindu temple may be taken as a fair specimen of her descriptive art:—

বিভ্রন একটি বনের মাঝারে
 কালের কালিমা মাখিয়া গায়,
 দাঁড়ায়ে একটি বালিকা মন্দির
 অনিত্যের স্থির প্রতিমা প্রায়
 ভেঙ্গে গেছে তার শিখর প্রদেশ
 বর বর ইট পড়িছে খসি,
 বট অশ্বথের গভীর শিকড়
 রহেছে তাহার মরমে পশি

There is only one bad line here—বর বর ইট পড়িছে খসি,—which tells against the image presented in the fourth verse of the first stanza অনিত্যের স্থির প্রতিমা প্রায়. The idea of অনিত্য is sufficiently expressed by “the broken summit,” and the coloring given to it by “the falling bricks” is not only superfluous but positively destructive of the highly solemn and effective image which is raised by the words স্থির প্রতিমা in the reader's mind.

Gáthá, we feel no hesitation in saying, is fully worthy of the authoress of *Dipnirwán*. It is a highly creditable production; and as it is written by a Hindu lady, it is a work of rare interest.